

PEACE NEWS

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NEW MOVE FOR ECONOMIC

On Other Pages

A Woman's Point of View ... 3
 News from Abroad ... 5
 "Speaking Personally," by Laurence Housman ... 7
 "Problems of the Peace Movement," by Ben Greene ... 8

Public Affairs COMMENTARY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE VITAL STAGE

AT long last the Czech problem has emerged this week into broad daylight as a problem immediately and directly affecting the peace of virtually the whole world.

Questions that have hitherto been discussed only between Cabinet Ministers who have "happened" to meet in London or by the "unofficial" mediator, Lord Runciman, or which have, indeed, been merely the subject of unsought advice from "disinterested" persons to those who are supposed to be solely concerned with them, have now been the subject of official meetings of Ministers in this country, France, Czechoslovakia, and even the United States.

There was nothing remarkable about the French meetings, especially as the Cabinet had urgent home affairs to deal with. The French position has long been clear. No doubt it is the same commitment to support Czechoslovakia that accounts for the remarkable absence of Russian activity—diplomatic or other (except for the routine shooting of the commander of every fleet of the Soviet navy). As for America, it must be remembered that she is pledged to defend Canada against attack!

The position of this country has yet to be made clear, despite Sir John Simon's "policy" speech (summarized on page 15). But if what this country might do in particular circumstances is not certain, no effort is being spared to make absolutely clear its determination that, so far as it can influence the solution of the problem itself, that influence will be on the side of a peaceful solution.

The most important part of the official statement issued from Downing Street on Tuesday, for example (which otherwise merely announced the fact of the meeting of Ministers and that no further meeting had been arranged), was its emphasis on the unanimity of the Government. And semi-official comment on the situation has consistently and rightly pointed out the danger that the German anti-Czech press campaign, especially at a time of unprecedented military manoeuvres, might well lead to incidents which might have uncontrollable consequences.

HERR HITLER'S CHANCE

IT may not be too late even now to hope that Herr Hitler's speech to the Nazi Party rally which opens at Nuremberg on Monday will strike again his oft-repeated note of peace rather than an irrevocable commitment to strong action.

But it is not reassuring that official circles in Berlin have interpreted British policy as an encouragement to the Czech Government to play for time till British rearmament is "completed," nor that Berlin has officially warned neighbouring Governments that it will intervene on the Sudeten's behalf if a solution is not soon found.

This would suggest that German policy will be to get their blow in first, while the anti-Czech propaganda would be the usual hate-mongering accompaniment of a war policy made the more necessary by a marked lack of conviction among most Germans about the alleged hardships of their Sudeten compatriots and a reluctance in any case to go to war. No amount of threatening—collective or otherwise—would discourage such a policy, since it rests on the old, fatal illusion of a quick war.

(Continued on back page)

Attempt to Mislead Public into Supporting A.R.P.

IN its attempt to overcome the growing opposition of the public to air raid precautions—opposition no less serious because it mainly takes the form of waning interest rather than of obstruction—the Government is becoming desperate.

In a letter sent by Mr. W. Eady, Deputy Under Secretary of State Home Office, to all local authorities and chief officers of police, in which the Home Secretary's plans for a new ARP drive next month are outlined, it is stated that

the Home Secretary has obtained the cooperation of all the churches, of representatives of the chief national and provincial daily newspapers . . . (our italics)

In view of the unqualified reference to the churches, whereas the letter makes no such sweeping claim for the press, and of the wide publicity given to the statement in the obedient press and on the radio, it is necessary to correct the totally false impression it gives.

Although the established church may be expected to cooperate closely with the Government in all matters, and Roman Catholics have already been exhorted by those to whom they give obedience to take part in the campaign, it is very far from the facts to suggest that all the churches have agreed to cooperate.

Yet this false statement is intended to be used by local ARP officers to persuade ministers to give their time and efforts to assisting in this form of preparation for war.

Following are statements which have already been made by members of four of the Nonconformist Churches denying that their denominations have given the Home Secretary the support he claims.

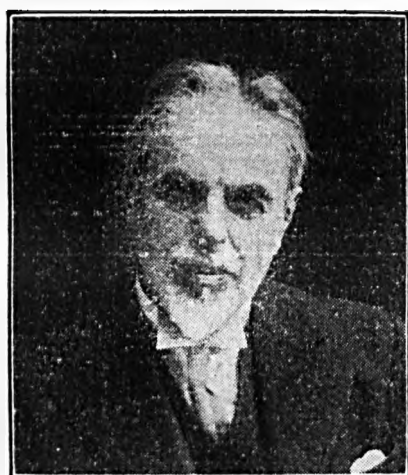
So far as the Methodist Church is concerned—the largest of the Nonconformist Churches—no resolution was passed at the July conference, and the General Purposes Committee, the only body able to speak for the Church between conferences, has not met since the conference. It has thus been impossible for this Church to give any such support. (Mr. H. Hilditch, Birmingham, in *Manchester Guardian*, August 23.)

The Presbyterian Church of England declined a request for cooperation from Sir Samuel Hoare last May. Since then another approach to the General Secretary of the Church has been made, but it was made clear that there could be no reconsideration of the Church's former decision.

In spite of that reply, Sir Samuel Hoare declared that he had obtained the support of all the churches. I think we ought to press for a contradiction of this misstatement, which is very misleading. (Rev. Lewis MacLachlan, Newcastle, in a statement to PEACE NEWS.)

Various pacifist resolutions have been carried, both nationally and in the districts, by Unitarian meetings, the plain meaning of which is that, *inter alia*, ARP are by no means sure of the support of the Unitarian churches. . . . I imagine that any attempt whatsoever to commit the Church, as a whole, to support ARP would rouse instant opposition. (Mr. G. Price-Jones, Hincley, in *Manchester Guardian*, Wednesday.)

The Yearly Meeting of our Society [of Friends], the only competent body to speak with authority for the whole of Quakerism in this country, has not yet made any pronouncement on the subject; but even in the absence of such a declaration I think it may be fairly stated that the peace testimony of the Society of Friends . . . leaves little room for the participation in the business of war, even on the side of air raid precautions. (Winifred A. Garnett, Chairman, Manchester Friends' Peace Committee, in *Manchester Guardian*, Tuesday.)



LAURENCE HOUSMAN
for Lord Rector

MR. LAURENCE HOUSMAN has been adopted as pacifist candidate in the Glasgow Rectorial Election by the Glasgow University branch of the Peace Pledge Union.

Known to the public as a brilliant playwright, Mr. Housman, who is 73 years of age is a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union. Even during the War (1915) he expressed his pacifism by writing a pamphlet entitled *Christianity: a Danger to the State*. Despite its attack on the War, no action was taken against him.

Mr. Housman has written numerous books, including *The Heart of Peace*, in 1919.

Public Enthusiasm Over Peace Mission

A HELSTON, Cornwall, reader, Mr. Sidney Gibbon, sends us further evidence of the enthusiasm with which the public are greeting Mr. George Lansbury's present peace mission to South-Eastern Europe. This time from Falmouth.

Last week we described how a cinema audience in Berkhamsted applauded a news reel showing Mr. Lansbury setting off on his mission, but showed no enthusiasm for military scenes.

Mr. Gibbon writes:—

As remarked in your last issue, the audience at Berkhamsted had sat in silence up to the point where George Lansbury made his short, but striking speech; this was also the case at Falmouth.

Indeed, the applause quite startled and surprised me by its enthusiasm, and was evidently not manufactured specially for the occasion by a few pacifists.

The fact is that the few simple truths boldly spoken by our "Minister for Peace" went straight to the hearts of the audience.

PEACE "G.L.'s" CALL TO KING CAROL Van Zeeland Conference Plan

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, on his Embassies of Reconciliation peace mission to the Balkans, has had an important personal talk with King Carol on the question of implementing the conference proposal contained in the Van Zeeland Report.

He proposed to King Carol that, in co-operation with King Leopold of the Belgians, he should extend invitations to the Great Powers for a conference in an effort to solve the economic crisis of the world on the lines of the Van Zeeland Report. King Carol promised to consider the proposal.

A CALL TO REASON

In an interview, before leaving Bucharest, with some forty directors of Rumanian newspapers, Mr. Lansbury said:

We came hoping that, through the King of Rumania, a cooperative effort may be made to call the nations to reason. And we are going home to tell our people that we must do our utmost to assist the development of the Balkan countries.

There is room for Germany and Italy as well as ourselves if the needs of the peasants are recognized.

If all the great nations would call a halt to armaments and spend twenty percent of their war expenditure on economic development, they would save the world from war.

The peace mission, which also includes the Rev. Henry Carter, and Mr. Percy W. Bartlett, left Bucharest for Belgrade on a Danube river steamer on Thursday of last week.

RUMANIA'S PEACE POLICY

During the last day of their stay in Rumania they were received by the Patriarch Prime Minister, Miron Christian. A communique issued later stated:

Conversations dealing with the international situation have taken place with the hope that God will preserve the world from further war.

Members of the Rumanian Government declared that the whole policy of Rumania had no other aim than permanent peace and harmonious collaboration with Rumania's neighbours, and with the whole world. If Rumania continues to provide sums for an army it is for the purpose of protecting her territory in national interests and without aggressive intentions toward any other nation.

Evidence of this fact is found in the Salonika agreement and the discussions with Hungary held at Bled, which showed the determination of the Balkan people to exclude the use of force from their dealings with one another, and to collaborate as friends in the development of their mutual relationship.

It is confidently hoped that this political agreement will be followed by cultural and commercial arrangements. The new minorities statute is a reaffirmation of the rights accorded to minorities by treaty after the War and will, it is believed, provide more efficiently for the material well being of the peoples concerned.

POWER FOR THE MASSES

During the press interview referred to above Mr. Lansbury also said:

We do sincerely hope that as the days pass there will arise out of the difficulties a growing power of expression for the mass of the people, because we think that civilization depends on the power of the masses to speak freely. We hope that the new constitution will develop, as the British constitution developed, to the forms best suited to the country and without violence and without bloodshed.

We are distressed that small nationalities here in the Balkans should feel obliged to spend so much of their substance on military preparations. It is a crime that when the Balkan nations are endeavouring to remove all the causes of difficulty between themselves, the disagreements of the Great Powers should force them to arm in self-defence.

World Youth Congress Deluded by Myth of "War for Democracy"

PACIFIST CASE SUPPRESSED

CHARGES of censorship and repression, made against officials of the Second World Youth Congress, which concluded in Vassar College, New York, last week, have been given considerable prominence in the American press.

The charges were made by two American observers, speaking for a pacifist minority at the congress. They declared that the representatives of world youth were heading straight for another world war.

The allegations referred to followed a split in the congress between the real anti-war forces and those advocating what the *New York Herald Tribune* called "aggressive alliances to bring about world peace."

Toward the end of the congress it was alleged that a "Vassar Peace Pact"—which included approval of "pressure" to "prevent aggression and bring it to an end"—had been signed without some delegates being given a chance to see it.

A speaker from the International Fellowship of Reconciliation declared that the official press bureau of the congress had stressed the "unanimity" of the American delegation while suppressing a minority explanation that the delegation had achieved "unity of words but not of purpose."

From Our Special Correspondent,
CHARLOTTE BENTLEY

NEW YORK.

THE Second World Youth Congress brought together youth from over fifty countries and all continents. Although an outward appearance of unity was attempted, dissension appeared, especially in the American delegation, on the question of "Concerted action to stop the aggressors."

The American delegation was composed of representatives of about sixty organizations. These soon became crystallized into two blocs:

The "collective security" group, which included representatives from several unions, the YMCAs, YWCAs, League of Nations Association, Youth Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, Young Communist League, American Student Union, and American Youth Congress; and the pacifist group, which included the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters' League, Women's International League, Student Peace Service, Youth Committee Against War, National Council of Methodist Youth, Christian Youth Committee of North America, Young People's Socialist League, Baptist Publications Society.

MINORITY'S CASE

The American delegation agreed that at most they could only achieve a unity of words but that such unity was desirable. They agreed unanimously on the following principles, which are so general as to admit of opposite interpretations:

1. Limitation and gradual reduction of armaments;
2. Economic reconstruction with the assurance of justice to all peoples;
3. Adherence to the basic principles of international law as the guiding and governing rules of conduct among nations;
4. Abstention from the use of force in the pursuit of policy and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations;
5. Collaboration in the freest possible intellectual exchange among the nations;
6. Support of international cooperation in such ways and by such means as may be practical and which advance and do not contradict this programme;
7. The equality of all races and peoples is basic to the securing of a peaceful world order.

The American delegation further agreed that two interpretations of the principles would be allowed. At the time of writing, opportunity has not been given to present the following minority programme.

It looks as if no such opportunity will be afforded. The programme advocated by the minority group, representing the real anti-war forces in the country, besides outlining a constructive peace policy, dealt with the above programme as follows:

The application of the seven-point programme of the American delegation through the creation of a coercive bloc of nations—commonly called collective security or collective defence—will contradict the purpose of the programme. A coercive bloc of some nations against others will always be interpreted by those being coerced as aggression, and will result in the aggravation of war causes and deeper and more disastrous conflicts. Therefore the U.S., while cooperating internationally for the attainment of peace, must refrain from participation in concerted action with other nations to coerce a particular nation by diplomatic agreement, economic embargo, or military assistance.

PRO-WAR DELEGATES

The general tenor of the congress was decidedly pro-war.

The congress, in the main stood and wildly applauded when representatives of warring nations spoke.

DUCHESSE, Catherine St., W.C.2, Tem. 8243.
Evenings, 8.30. Matinees, Wed. & Thurs. 2.30

GLORIOUS MORNING

by Norman Macowan

THE MESSAGE OF THIS PLAY, DELIVERED WITH BLAZING SINCERITY AND STRENGTH, IS THAT "THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IS THE CAUSE OF GOD."

Like the generation before them, delegates were ready to fight with military weapons to maintain peace. They advocated justice—but only after "fascist aggression" had been stopped. They were laying the foundation for a moral justification of the next war, already providing a cloak of sanctity.

It seemed as if the youth had learnt nothing from the last war. They idealistically supposed that a just peace could be established after another war to "Guarantee the sanctity of international law" and to "save democracy," this time from "fascist aggression."

There was, however, a small and determined minority which opposed this. Besides the nineteen in the American delegation, opposition came chiefly from the colonial and revisionist countries. The delegate from East Africa pointed out that fascist imperialism can be no more brutal than British imperialism, and asked why colonies should fight for the British Empire against the fascists.

Porto Rico showed the brutalities occurring there under the benevolence of the "Good Neighbour" policy and questioned the right of America to claim to be able to "Save democracy" when she denied it to a colony. Trinidad, India, some Mexicans among others questioned the possibility of "concerted action" being a force for peace. Likewise the revisionist nations of Bulgaria, Hungary, and Rumania, felt that military action against the fascist nations would only perpetuate an unjust status quo.

SUPPRESSION

Unfortunately a congress interested in a war to save democracy was unable to be completely democratic itself.

The machinery of the Congress was in the hands of the "collective security" forces. The minority viewpoint was suppressed by subtle means, the choice of commission chairman, "experts," the holding of unannounced meetings, and the arrangement of speakers.

An example of the latter occurred when a speaker for the Young People's Socialist League made a stirring speech against "concerted action." The order of speakers was deliberately rearranged under pressure from the officers of the congress so that there followed the leader of the Young Socialist International who assured the congress that the European socialists did not have the compunction the Americans did in supporting another war.

The British and French delegates then followed with assurances that these countries would be kind to the colonies if they supported collective security.

Another incident of discrimination was the denial of the floor to colonial delegates known to be opposed to the majority position. Latin-America, which had a large number of anti-war delegates, was allowed only one spokesman, while the European nations were each allowed to speak several times.

Although the congress turned into a pro-war movement in the main there were certain advantages in the attendance of the pacifist and other anti-war forces. They were able to say to the world, "Not all American youth has gone militarist. We pledge our support to every true movement for peace but we will not support the government in a war against the fascist nations, no matter how holy that war may seem. They were able to work with the colonial and revisionists, and the pacifists from Norway to oppose the drive toward a "holy war."

(Next week we shall print a full report of the speech made by Mr. Sanford Klein, delegate to the congress for the War Resisters' International.)

Czechoslovakia: A Hungarian View

Rights of Minorities Under Peace Treaty RECORD OF BROKEN PROMISES

Final article by NAGY IVAN

THE key to the Czechoslovakian crisis is that the Czech Government always "forgets" its promises.

Let us play a searchlight on the minority problem of Ruthenia and look again at the conditions of the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, adopted on that critical day, September 10, 1919. What were the conditions on which the Allied and Associated Powers incorporated Ruthenia in the new State? What were the guarantees of Czechoslovakia? They were:—

Article 10.—Czechoslovakia undertakes to constitute the Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians within frontiers delimited by the principal Allied and Associated Powers as an autonomous unit within the Czechoslovak State, and to accord to it the fullest degree of self-government compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak State.

Article 11.—The Ruthene territory south of the Carpathians shall possess a special Diet. This Diet shall have powers of legislation in all linguistic, scholastic, and religious questions, in matters of local administration, and

of Saint Germain-en-Laye as waste paper—which is a mockery of international law.

An old sergeant, who was born in an ancient Ruthenian family, but was treated in the Czech census as a Czech—once said to me:—

Why are we Ruthenians so unfortunate as to live on the "end of the world" where the justice-controlling eyes of western people don't look? Why can't our nation have the opportunity to live in freedom with its own officials and its own language?

The Ruthenians' cry to the western nations is to fulfil the promises of Articles 10 to 13 in the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye. The Czechs cannot continue to ignore the treaty, thus depriving the Ruthenians of the self-government, free life, religion, and development promised them.

POLES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The story of how the Czechs occupied Teschen-Silesia is in itself quite interesting.



This map shows the approximate areas occupied by the minorities in Czechoslovakia. Another authority shows somewhat larger areas as being occupied by Germans and by Hungarians. (From "An Atlas of Current Affairs," by J. F. Horrabin, Gollancz, 3s. 6d.)

In other questions which the laws of the Czechoslovak State may assign to it. The Governor of the Ruthene territory shall be appointed by the president of the Czechoslovak Republic and shall be responsible to the Ruthene Diet.

Article 12.—Czechoslovakia agrees that officials in the Ruthene territory will be chosen as far as possible from the inhabitants of this territory, &c.

Up to now the Czechs have not fulfilled these conditions. There is no Ruthenian

NEXT WEEK

A Czech will write on the problems in his country

self-government, autonomy, freedom, and there are no officials chosen from the inhabitants. Ruthenia as a free autonomy exists only on paper.

DANGER FROM SLAV MOVEMENT

The desire of the Slav bloc to absorb Ruthenia has always been the Ruthenians' very problem of existence. There was strong agitation in Russian papers and books just before the Great War.

The origin of this desire can be traced to religion. The Ruthene nation, however, is Greek-Catholic while Russia is Greek Orthodox. It has been this "Chinese Wall" which has saved the Ruthenians from the hands of Russia throughout history.

Ruthenia has always been threatened by pan-Slavism—one of the strongest forces in Central Europe. The aim of this movement—to establish Slav rule as widely as possible—is always a danger to world peace.

Further anxiety has been caused among Ruthenians through the friendship between Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia as it now seems likely that Russia will be able to fulfil her aim. The Ruthenians, however, have no desire to be under the Russians or the Czechs; they want the self-government which was promised them—the only guarantee of peaceful, cultural, and economic progress.

Today it is with some bitterness that the Ruthenians are coming to the conclusion that the Czechs regard the Treaty

There was no ethnographical, geographical, cultural, or strategical reason which the Czechs could advance in their discussions with representatives of the Great Powers for the incorporation of Polish people in the new State.

In 1920 there was a struggle in Poland between Bolsheviks and Poles. Every effort was made by Poland to save herself from a Bolshevik invasion. The Czechs demonstrated in the streets of Prague with great joy: "Finis Poloniae." And the Czech army attacked Teschen-Silesia and occupied it.

The Council of Teschen, in its resolution, condemned the occupation and stated:—

As that memorable deed of infamy which has led to the division of Poland has met with its rightful atonement, so that heinous crime which has been perpetrated upon the living body of Silesia is poisoning the political and social life of Central Europe and will continue to do so until Poland has obtained full satisfaction.

That is the Polish opinion concerning the strange occupation of the Polish territory and the Czech rule.

THE SOLUTION

Today, with Europe so full of dangers to world peace, the most important duty is to make situations as clear as possible. The friction in Czechoslovakia, for instance, started some nineteen years ago and bears in itself a lot of germs which threaten the sick state of Europe.

We find the economic unit of the Great Hungarian Plain—the food-keeper of millions in the Danube basin—broken up. Its inhabitants have no cultural or historical relationship with the ruling Czechs. Their desire is to live in peace with their own language and religion.

The Great Powers made their mistake after the War. Ignorance on one hand, and hatred on the other hid the real issue. They did not arrange the new map of Europe justly, and the present disturbances are the results of cutting cultural, ethnographical, geographical, and economic units.

It should be understood that only justice in the Danube basin will bring peace—may it be understood before it is too late.

Was the Man in the Beret Right?

A Woman's
Point of View

WHEN one's point of view is a horizontal one, stretched on a French beach with clear sky overhead and calm blue sea stretching, hardly wrinkled, to the horizon, it is difficult to convince oneself of the reality of problems—difficult to be sufficiently concerned to rouse oneself from the dreamless languor that sun and sea make perfect.

It was yesterday that the first flaw showed in this perfection. We were sitting at our wide window, eating small sour grapes and crusty French bread, when two strangers came in through the swing door. They carried luggage and had clearly come with the intention of staying.

Then one of them spoke. "This looks quite a nice place," he said in English. We looked hastily away in case they should guess we had understood.

There was the same expression of resentment on all our faces. Our new world with its many sorts of strangeness was in danger. We began to feel that we were getting the real flavour of a French village and here were two of our own kind to remind us of ourselves, our distinctions of habit and language.

THERE was not the slightest feeling of pleasure—not the faintest trace of nostalgia for all that English people reminded us of. Nothing but resentment that we should be reminded of boundaries, of a community from which we were trying to break away. Our feeling of kinship was less strong than our desire to get outside our own community of race and language.

It was this small happening that started the discussion. The man in the corner began it.

"That's one of your pacifist contradictions," he said. "You talk a lot about brotherhood and community and yet what you are really trying to do is to break up the community."

"In war, when the community is in danger, you pledge yourselves to stand out against the community. At a moment when community spirit runs highest you have to reject it."

"There's something in what you say," said the man in the beret. "That's why a lot of unmilitaristic people join in a war, and why they are afraid to be conscientious objectors. They can't stand the pressure of public opinion, they feel they have no right as members of a community to refuse to help the community."

"SO," said the man in the corner, "it's the man with an individual conviction stronger than his community sense who becomes the pacifist."

Across the table the woman sipping her cider looked up. She spoke in French. "As for me, I think of pacifists as a pack

of lone wolves howling at an impossible moon."

The man in the beret shook his head. "That's only partly true. The other sort of pacifist has a more passionate sense than the man who joins in war. His emotions are those that make the family and make the nation; what he rejects are the limitations which the community recognizes, the frontiers of geography, history, and language. He does not wish to reject the community spirit, but to strengthen it and enlarge it."

"It's true that in the emergency of war he will have to stand out against the community. But that tragedy of conflicting duties is not less or more than the conflicting duties of a man who must leave his family and fight for the larger community of the nation."

"Ultimately the integrity of the smaller unit depends on the integrity of the larger. The community of the nation will be secure when it is contained in the larger international community."

"There's this difference," said the woman. "That community of the nation is an existing community, with a spirit that can be recognized. The international community is a dream, vague and insubstantial. You pledge yourself to a vision."

"There is no objection to that," put in an older man from the adjoining table. "The fighting man often pledges himself to a vision, a war to end war—a world for heroes. But what I would like is more honesty from the pacifist. He must be honest enough to explain his position in regard to the community."

THE man in the beret interrupted. "The only kind of communities of which pacifists can approve are communities smaller than the nation, not these temporary and functional communities. I'm thinking of borough councils and trades unions and groups of that sort."

"You don't mean to exclude the ideal of international community?" asked the man in the corner.

"No, no," said the man in the beret, with slight impatience. "I was just confining myself to existing communities."

"I would like to clear up this point," the older man suggested. "Which is the more valuable: the individual action dictated by an individual's conscience, or community feeling? I don't mean government edict, but genuine community feeling. Which is the more valuable morality?"

"This business of conscience," said the man in the beret. "If you're going to accept the dictates of a conscience you've got to suppose some degree of revelation, or standard of right. And I would like to throw out this point. Is conscience individual? I would say it is most certainly communal in origin."

"THAT'S going to lead us on to an entirely new discussion," said the man in the corner, searching in his pocket for matches.

The woman on the other side of the table took a box from her capacious handbag and pushed them across to him.

"Well," she said, "what conclusions can we come to?" She looked at the man in the beret. "What are your convictions?"

The man in the beret got up and stretched himself. "In my opinion," he said, "pacifists as a body don't need convictions. They have enough. And convictions are not by themselves good enough foundations for a new society. Too often they are stultifying."

"Most pacifists could do with unsettling—whereas most of them spend their time underlining their convictions. Hard thinking is the diet they need—not faith."

The man in the corner shrugged his shoulders. "Shall we have our coffee in the garden or here?"

"Garden," said the man in the beret. "Mine's black."

M.S.

Practical Pacifism and Unemployment Problems—6

A HOUSE OF HOPE IN MID-RHONDDA

YEARS ago my middle-class mind was shocked to meet an East London family living entirely on Parish Relief.

Here in the Rhondda today there are roughly 15,000 unemployed, or 50 percent in the ten small townships of our two valleys, mostly with families, dependent on the Unemployment Assistance Board or the "dole."

These miners are not casual labourers, nor "unemployables." When the coal industry crisis came in the 1926 slump, it brought ruin to their homes.

There was no other industry. There was no alternative employment. Scores of small shops went bankrupt, and now show their forlorn empty windows.

THE Government has accepted this unemployment—this widespread injustice—as permanent, incurable, and unavoidable. It has scarcely lifted its little finger to lighten the burden. It has left local authorities heavily handicapped with high rates and low rateable property. It has looked, and passed by on the other side.

There has been no revival of the coal trade. An unemployed miner who had not worked for some years applied at a colliery for work and was cursed out of the offices.

A revival of the coal trade is scarcely even desired now. With the inadequate wages and high rate of accident, disease and death—76 killed last December in the

"TEN years of enforced leisure means for the most part a life lacking in the normal discipline of daily work. Inadequate food makes for increasing physical and mental deterioration. Can a man, woman or child provide adequate food on an average of 3s. a week? Hope dies down." Margery Parker-Gray, of Treallaw Community House, describes how, in such conditions as these, it has been possible to "live peace," and how mid-Rhondda has reacted to the influence of a centre of new life and hope.

United Kingdom, a fair average, men are no longer prepared to suffer such risks mainly to increase the bank balances of the rich.

"I'd rather die than go down the pit," said a twelve-year-old to me, with the same ardour that a pacifist would show in refusing to join the army.

Unemployment does not make for pacifism. Some men as an alternative to idleness, have taken to armament work in a factory about twenty miles away. In one street fourteen youths have joined the forces.

MIGRATION continues steadily; the population has declined by 33,000 and the youngest and most vital elements of the population leave. The high standards of education of the Rhondda are reaped elsewhere.

Family relationships are being upset, not only by migration. For example, in a family of twelve, the five elder children have been compelled to leave home to find work because of the "means test." Parents suffer the humiliation of being kept by their children. The horizon of children of unemployed parents is necessarily limited.

With most families there is an over-preoccupation with economic worry, necessitated by the scandalously low standard of living. As wealth accumulates wealth, so poverty accumulates poverty.

TEN years of enforced leisure means for the most part a life lacking in the normal discipline of daily work.

Inadequate food makes for increasing physical and mental deterioration. Can a man, a woman, or a child provide adequate food on an average of 3s. per week?

Hope dies down. What reaction do you expect from men

treated as though they were to blame for their unemployment?

What reaction do you expect from men subject to frequent suspicious investigations?

What reaction do you expect from men treated as of small value, judging by their niggardly allowances?

What reaction do you expect from men who are steadily prevented from helping themselves in minor ways?

What reaction do you expect from men who are dependent on charities for clothes, boots, holidays, and a hundred other necessities?

Yet here in the face of an environment making for evil, there are still families proudly independent, courageous, and unembittered, offering of their best in voluntary service; attending centres of music and craft culture; responding to the allotment scheme by enriching the rough mountain sides with cabbages and hens.

There are men here who have known suffering and conquered it.

OUR house stands for the invisible made visible. It is a way of life. It is an attempt to live together a Christian life, that is, a life dominated by love. It is together that the true meaning of the kingdom of God is revealed. As a family we are learning to forget class, sex, and age, because these things have no part in the kingdom of God.

As a family, unemployed and employed meet on terms of equality.

The deep value of personality which we find, makes our fellowship stronger in its pacifist convictions. Since we believe all life should be spiritual, we have not only studied together the teaching of Jesus, and prayed together in the quiet of the little chapel, but we have found opportunities for physical culture in the "gym" or on the tennis court; we have found opportunities to train in crafts, such as book-binding, weaving, and embroidery; to produce drama; to borrow books from the library or from each other; or to join in the toy-making.

This latter has year after year presented special appeal to unemployed. They have worked from September to Christmas without pay, making doll's beds, dressers, boards and easels, ring, dart, and quoit boards, and so on, for distribution to the children of unemployed homes over a wide area.

This last year over 500 toys were sent out from our workshop, gaily painted, the dolls' cots complete with simple bedding and flowered canopies and quilts. None of this labour can compete with mass production.

LACK of finance has impeded much of the work and development of the house.

Fortunately friendship is not dependent on it, and grows in variety and quality unhampered by organization, and aided by Youth Hostel visitors both from this country and from abroad.

Ways of friendship are always at hand. It costs, little save time and thought, to share extra cleaning and redecoration, to visit a sick neighbour, to wash for an invalid, or to preach the gospel of Jesus which is the gospel of peace.

Today we are more certain than ever that our fellowship has a purpose to fulfil in the coming of the kingdom, and we wait expectantly for guidance as to our future service and sacrifice.

Marjorie Parker-Gray

NEXT WEEK: New Beginnings in the East End, by Mary Osborn.

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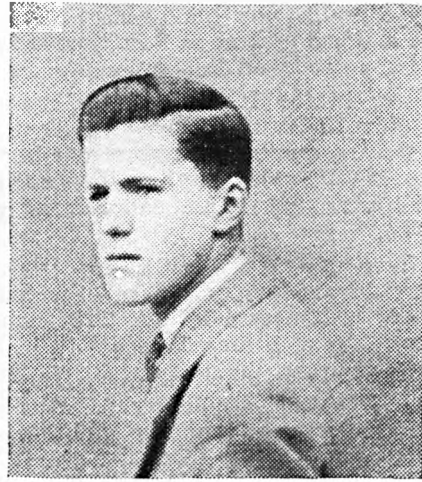
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The Younger Generation

Why I Shall Become a Pacifist

By

RAYMOND C. NUNN
(aged sixteen)

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION will soon have yet another staunch supporter to add to its already swollen ranks. I am joining. I, a sixteen-year-old boy.

It's rather funny how I first stumbled on the truth; learnt that this rearmament business means war. I was at the pictures. And I saw a news film. That's all; but something in it made me think a lot. This something was propaganda stuff. A reel featuring the power and might in the air of the different nations. There were Russia, Germany, France, Italy, and Britain.

We have the fastest fighters and the fastest bombers, it informed us. Our navy at sea is mighty too. Our army is wonderfully efficient. And so on.

FEAR AND HORROR

But I'd had enough. I felt sick. I left the theatre with an awful sense of fear

and horror. I was frightened. The whole thing stank of war. Nothing else.

When I saw those 'planes flashing across the screen, swooping, diving and roaring; heard the tramp, tramp, of marching men; listened to the thunder of the 18-inch guns on the huge battleships at sea, I realized the truth. The whole truth.

That rearmament must mean war.

That Britain caught, like others, in the fever of the arms race is rushing headlong to her doom. A horrible, ghastly, bloody doom.

Why doesn't she stop? Why don't our leaders see sense? I keep asking myself these questions; I can't find the answers. Except one. Become a pacifist; join the PPU. I'm going to, if I'm not too young.

This Captain Resigned Because He Knew War Was Wrong

IN a dreary-looking old book of tracts bound up together I have come upon one named *A Letter Addressed to the King by Thomas Thrush, on Resigning his Commission as a Captain in the Royal Navy, on the Ground of the Unlawfulness of War. 1825, and written at Sutton, near Thirsk.*

At the head of the letter is the text:—

I AM NOT MAD, MOST NOBLE FESTUS; BUT SPEAK FORTH THE WORDS OF TRUTH AND SOBERNESS.

From his letter we can judge that he was a brave pioneer, without the support, so far as appears, of other like-minded thinkers, and we may guess that he would have been greatly surprised to know that his courage was to be remembered 113 years after he wrote. Some facts of his life, however, are known.

His father was an ironmonger who inherited a small farm in Yorkshire. The boy longed to go to sea, but until he was 21 his ambition was not gratified.

**His Conscience Was
Stirred**

By dint of hard study of mechanics, mathematics, and seamanship, he obtained a post in the Navy, and in 1809 became a Post-Captain. An attack of yellow fever in Jamaica ruined his health and he returned to England on a pension to live in comfort with his wife.

But his conscience stirred, and he grew more and more convinced that the work of the Navy was inconsistent with the teachings of Christ, and consequently

that he could not continue to receive a pension from the Service.

So, despite advancing years, he wrote to the King, as we know, resigning his commission. Giving up his pleasant home, he and his wife moved to a cottage in Harrogate, where he devoted his energies to work for peace.

Let us now turn to the letter of our hero to the King, in which he realizes that, like Paul, he will probably be thought to be deranged in his mind.

To try to explain his position he supposes hypothetically that he had forgotten his obligations to his King, and united himself to the King's enemies. "Were I," he says, "by any possibility implicated in a trans-

By

A. RUTH FRY

action so truly degrading, I should consider it as my first duty, as soon I became sensible of the enormity of my crime, to make the most ample and the most public reparation of it."

His real situation, he believes, is very similar to this imaginary case. When he joined the Service, he had felt no doubt that if he should lose his life for his king and country, this would serve as a kind of passport to the favour and acceptance of God.

Such was the general opinion, and those who live much in the world are imperceptibly led to think and act upon the principles of those with whom they associate.

Above the King

It was not till after some years of quiet life that Captain Thrush began to realize that while he had been serving his King and his country "if not brilliantly, yet faithfully," he had been acting "in open disobedience to the plain and positive commands of another and a superior Master whose claims upon my allegiance are prior, and paramount, to those of Your Majesty, or of any earthly sovereign."

Our writer next makes the excellent point that as Christianity is considered as

"Q CAMPS" and How They Help Victims of Society

described by
W. DAVID WILLS

"PACIFISM in action against crime" is a possible way of describing the Q Camps experiment, though I do not think the phrase has ever been used in our official literature. And I hope it never will be, because it is, in a sense, rather misleading.

Actually our members are—like you and me—only criminal in fact, and not necessarily in law. But (again like you and me) they are precisely the material that graduates eventually to Dartmoor, given the right circumstances and handling.

Where they differ from you and me is that they have already had a good deal of those circumstances and handling, and that is why they are at our camp.

SOME have been before magistrates and some have not, but whatever their technical status their needs are the same. They need three things—sympathy, understanding, and love.

That is what (so far as our human frailties allow us) we are trying to give them, and that, I believe, should be the pacifist attitude to the lawbreaker.

It is a technique which must be put into operation at as early a stage as pos-

sible. It is not much use waiting until your unhappy and bewildered youth has become a prematurely aged man, soured by years of jail and embittered by harshness.

The tough hide in which he has enveloped himself as a protection against the violent assaults of an indignant society is almost equally impregnable against assaults of another kind.

During the 2½ years of our existence we have admitted four ex-prisoners. They (and only they) have all gone back to prison. That is why our age limits are 16½ to 25, and that is why we do not now admit ex-convicts.

THEY come to us from police courts, from their own homes, from hospitals and from institutions—men condemned with the moral condemnation of their elders and betters. The first thing they find when they get to the camp is that there is no more of that.

We might treat the offence that brings them to us lightly, we might treat it as a misfortune; we never treat it as something to be moralized over and punished. That is what I mean by sympathy.

In time we begin to get a picture of the lad's emotional make-up, his home circumstances, the attitude of his parents and others in authority over him, and the reasons for his troubles begin to manifest themselves. That is what I mean by understanding.

But sympathy comes first. The lad has got to realize that we are on his side from the start—not after we had learnt the extenuating circumstances.

He needs love in the same way that we all need to be loved, but he needs it rather more than most of us because, very often, his behaviour has caused him to meet with a good deal of overt hatred. (Always of course for his own good—"this hurts me more than it hurts you.")

THERE are several reasons why we camp instead of living in an ordinary institution: it is cheaper to put up wooden buildings than elaborate brick ones; camping has a romantic appeal to young adolescents; it provides what we sometimes call "the discipline of nature."

We dislike the arbitrarily imposed punishments that human beings use on each other, but we believe that there is a certain value in the punishments which nature inflicts, because they are logical and impersonal. In a civilized community natural consequences can very often be indefinitely postponed, like the final payment on the furniture.

For the same sort of reason the members share with the staff the responsibility of governing the camp, so far as its internal domestic affairs are concerned.

It is not nearly so efficient as authoritarian government, but its value lies in its very defects. We all see from time to time, very clearly, the social consequences of one individual's failure to pull his weight.

We find that some of the members need more than the camp alone can give; they need the specialized treatment of a psycho-therapist, and this we are able to arrange, often through the kind services of the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency.

We believe that we are engaged upon a piece of real, constructive, peace-time pacifist work. Anyone interested should write to Mrs. M. A. Wood, 8 Gainsboro Mansions, Queen's Club Gardens, London, W.14 (she is the Hon. Secretary of the London Group, Friends of Q Camps, and may be able to send a speaker to any local group meetings); or to the Hon. Secretary, Q Camps, Dr. Marjorie Franklin, 86 Harley Street, London, W.1.

VIOLENCE BEGETS VIOLENCE

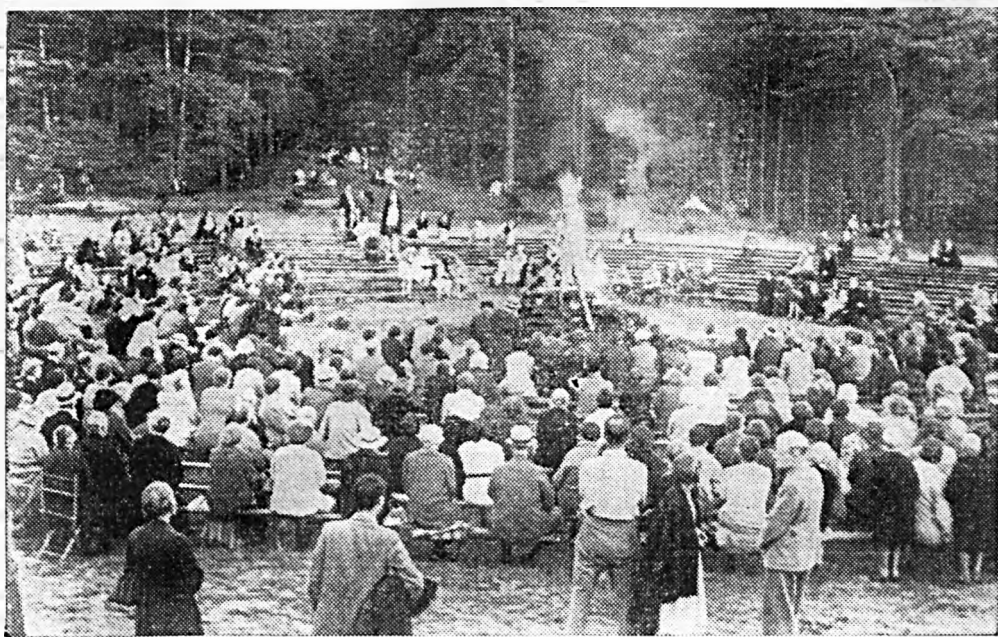
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PEACE WORKERS, PLEASE NOTE

"International Peace begins, if anywhere, in that reverence for life, for individuality, which has its roots in kindness to animals, and to all in need of friendship and protection."

—Editorial, Daily Newspaper.

Please write for literature concerning Humane Education in Schools, Homes, Youth Centres, to:
THE HUMANE EDUCATION SOCIETY, 80, Mosley Street, Manchester, 2.



Every evening the campers sat in silence round this camp fire.

Holland

1,200 Campers from All Over the World Tackle Peace Problems

By ELLEN DIGHTON

IN this year's Ommen Star Camp in Holland, I came upon one of the most vital experiences a pacifist could encounter. For a fortnight 1,200 men and women from all over the world lived together under canvas, sharing the common round and enjoying the riches of a remarkable fellowship. I found myself surrounded by a babel of tongues, a great mass of people made aware of their differences: men and women shadowed by suffering, hedged in with a great fear. For the first week we lived in an atmosphere charged with electricity, talking politically, thinking politically; and in the sharing of common fears and loyalties we sought a basis of understanding. The internationalism of which I had spoken easily for many years became a present problem and adaptability, tolerance and good will, the great pacifist weapons, were tested thoroughly. But the absence of newspapers inevitably stilled our political consciousness, and as time drew on we shared more deeply our spontaneous thinking.

UNKNOWN SUPPORTERS ABROAD

The thought of the great gathering became concentrated in the words of Krishnamurti, the Indian thinker and philosopher. We studied the springs of human consciousness and attempted to lay bare the fear paralysis which had the whole world in its grip.

We realized that mere political expediences were powerless in face of this great human tragedy. We were not offered an easy antidote, a simple "cure-all" remedy, but we came away with a new understanding, a new grasp of the magnitude of our task in building new men and women for a new world.

I and three other Peace Pledge Union friends I found there used our time well. It came as a shock to realize the serious effect of a press closed to pacifist activity.

Even our friends in Holland had given up hope in the ordinary Englishman's concern for peace. Indeed, we in the PPU must face the fact that on the Continent we are practically an unknown quantity. There are countless men and women who feel as we do but whose thought is not consolidated.

WEAPON OF CHILDREN

Of all the many talks I had with friends the one which gave me the greatest inspiration was with an Indian magistrate from one of the biggest provinces in India.

As a government official he could not be a follower of Gandhi but from him I had first-hand accounts of the non-violent movement in India and the powerless state to which it reduces our government. But the true non-violent resister in India practises non-violence not as an expedient but as a faith.

In the words of my Indian friend, "Non-violence has become the weapon of the children," and he told me of cases where children had resisted injustice in home and school. It was becoming slowly but surely the staff of the Indian people—an expression of an implicit belief in the victory of goodness.

Here I find a challenge to us in the English pacifist movement. A challenge to our lack of faith in the new approach to which we give ready lip service but which fails to receive the day-to-day allegiance of our lives.

I have come back to the prospect of another winter's work in the PPU with this certainty that, unless and until the pacifist is prepared to put more than mere physical and mental energy into his endeavour, failure will shadow him on the smallest issues. We need to dig deeply, not

merely into the hidden fears that strangle; we must seek the reason for the faith which is in us; once we know that, there can be no reversal.



Two representatives from India, one from Spain, and one from Iceland.

Italy

Nationalism Obscures a Wider Vision HOW WE CAN BRING IT BACK TO VIEW

From a Swedish Correspondent

FOR keen democrats and pacifists the very words "fascism," "national socialism," may convey a feeling of distrust or even distaste. This means a hindrance to understanding people in such a country and to any cooperation with them.

When travelling in Italy recently I realized more than before how much easier it is to understand the individuals within a fascist State, and their activities, than the policy of the State as a whole. I learned of the voluntary social service, of women within fascist organizations of very bad social conditions being bettered now by adult education, &c.

The *Dopolavoro* (the Italian leisure-time organization) gives everybody an opportunity to go to theatres, concerts and art exhibitions, and to take holiday trips at very cheap rates. The *Dopolavoro* also aims at the removal of class barriers. So do many arrangements within the elementary schools, which are for everybody's children.

School-teachers told me also about new trends in character education, the turning away from individual egoism and toward willingness to cooperate and make sacrifices.

Individual Italians pointed out how methods of cooperation, in which different gifts, training, and experience make their special contributions, are intensely practised by corporational representatives in their different tasks.

EFFECT OF NATIONALISM

But how can the human ideals of such people get on in a strongly nationalistic atmosphere, where humanity at large in many respects counts for so little?

They might give us the usual answers: we have to be strong to be able to do the needed constructive work in our country.

Scandinavia

DANGEROUS MOVES BY THE BIG POWERS

Smaller Nations Trying to Avoid the Consequences

From Our Own Correspondent

STAVANGER, Norway.

DEVELOPMENTS in Europe in recent years have divided the large nations into two huge military giants which at any time may start a war. The Scandinavian governments do not like this new situation, which very much resembles that of 1914.

Although they sympathize with the democratic Powers, they do not want to be mixed up in a European war in which the interests of the Great Powers would pre-dominate.

However, they are afraid that their membership of the League of Nations will prevent them from remaining neutral when they wish. The Scandinavian governments, therefore, have tried during the last year to make clear their attitude to this question.

NORWAY CLAIMS FREEDOM OF ACTION

Just about three months ago the Norwegian Parliament unanimously agreed to a declaration that Norway considers herself free to decide when she will apply economic or military sanctions under Article 16 of the League Covenant.

The foreign ministers of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Luxemburg, Norway and Sweden agreed on the same point at their meeting in Copenhagen just over a month ago.

They were "convinced that their countries ought to continue their participation in the work of the League," but declare that "they consider the sanctions system, in present conditions and after the experience of recent years, to be non-obligatory" on any of the members of the League. (The quotations are from the communiqué issued by the seven foreign ministers—see also page 15).

SCANDINAVIAN M.P.s MEET

On August 15 the third meeting between members of the Scandinavian parliaments opened in Stockholm. There were about 100 delegates from Iceland, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, and Norway.

On the problem of peace and war the former Norwegian Prime Minister, J. L. Mowinckel, moved the following resolution, which was passed:

The third meeting between members of the Scandinavian parliaments gives its full approval to the communiqué which was agreed upon at the meeting of foreign ministers at Copenhagen in July, and suggests their governments ensure that their viewpoint, contained in this communiqué, is satisfactorily made known. The delegates express, also with reference to the Copenhagen meeting, their interest in agreements upon the problems which arise from aerial warfare.

I dare say the great majority of the Norwegian people supports the government in this policy of neutrality.

France

PEOPLE'S PART IN WAR

By EUGENE LAGOT

Member of the International Council, War Resisters' International.

I have been reading H. M. Swanwick's excellent article (PEACE NEWS, July 16), "The part allotted to women," and I am eager to contribute my share, as a man, to her unanswerable arguments.

It is only too true that the governing class, the permanent officials, the diplomats, the correspondents, the leader-writers, the wireless controllers, the army, the navy, the air force, the armament manufacturers, the financiers, the high ecclesiastics, who foster, prepare for, and justify war are men and not women!

But it is, indeed, in order to excuse their cowardice that men incriminate women, after having blamed this or that particular social system that they themselves have established and now tolerate, and that they themselves could reform.

PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

There can be no doubt, in fact, that it is the people who, by voting, elect those that govern, discipline, and oppress them.

It is no less certain that it is the people who pay for dictators, ministers, diplomats, newspapers, civil servants, soldiers. Furthermore, it is with the money that the people are willing to give that the armament manufacturers grow rich, that the financiers receive lavish bonuses on war loans, and that the wealth of the high ecclesiastics is maintained.

As a pacifist, I have come, through successive experiences and critical analysis, to the terrible conclusion that it is not even those whom we make our masters who are responsible for war, but the people wretched enough to give themselves such masters, to maintain them and tolerate them, to follow them to the end of the most foolish and criminal enterprises.

"OUR" COLONIES

Let us take an example.

I was born in France, and therefore am subject to all the obligations of French citizens. France, like England, owns rich colonies. When I want to buy a pound of coffee, rice, or some other product of "my" rich colony, nobody asks me my nationality. I am only told the price! And any Englishman, Swiss, Italian, German or Pole, will pay the same price. I am none the richer for all that than any subject of any other State. On the contrary.

These colonies enrich a few; but the great bulk of the poor are impoverished through conquering them, developing their resources, keeping them, even though they themselves will never gain any personal or collective advantage from them.

Norman Angell (in his early period) proved this brilliantly in 1913 in his immortal work, *The Great Illusion*.

But let us suppose that tomorrow a given country without colonies takes possession of some of them. Is there a man of the people, be he anti-capitalist or anti-fascist, who would not get himself killed in order to conquer or preserve "his" colony for his country?

Perhaps a small majority composed of war resisters, despised no doubt by the whole mass of the people which is soaked in political metaphysics. But the great, the tremendous majority of people would march to war.

It is only after the massacre that they would blame, for their own mistakes, their social system, the weaker sex, and even their own shadow cast by the rays of the sun of misunderstood truth.

Get to know
ALLYSOL

NEW BOOKS

NEW VISION OF HISTORY

Heaven—and Earth. By John Middleton Murry. Cape. 10s. 6d.

Reviewed by R. H. Ward

OUT of the body of Mr. Murry's work nothing finer than this has emerged. His imaginative insight into the great creative minds of the past—those of Shakespeare, Blake, Keats, Dostoevsky—has given us a series of books of interpretive criticism creative in their turn and unique in understanding and realization. His sense of the processes of history has always been part of their strength; his subjects have not stood alone, but have been the outcome and the foreshadowing of their own pasts and futures; they have, as it were, been related integrally to the universal whole.

It ought to have been possible to guess that he would at some point use these faculties of creative interpretation and historical perception (at their best they fuse into one thing) in a book in which both could be shown to their best purpose.

This book is *Heaven—and Earth*, which traces, broadly speaking, the evolution of creative ideas, whether expressed in religion, art or politics, from the time of Chaucer to our own day. In a few cases the sections are a shade too disconnected; in a few others they overlap a shade too much.

But the total shape of the book is magnificent. It offers a new vision of history and a new vision of the makers of it; it is extraordinarily exciting, and extraordinarily suggestive, it is a kind of imperative speculation.

Only in very rare cases (for example, the section on Cromwell) does the tone of the book waver; for the most part the consistency of its insight, depth and knowledge is incorruptible, while few better essays can have been written on Montaigne, Rousseau, Goethe, Godwin, or Shelley, and few can have been more revealing than that in which Mr. Murry compares Rousseau and Marx.

The preface contains a number of suggestions which it is at first difficult to swallow (the fear of hell is hardly, surely—yet I may misinterpret Mr. Murry—a part of the contemporary world's necessary return

to a living religion); but the epilogue is superbly done; it draws together in four pages the essential content of the minds which Mr. Murry has examined, and the essential necessity imposed upon us by the historical process which he has traced. These are in fact summed up in the single word Christianity.

If Mr. Murry's assertion, that of all religious approaches to the problem and mystery of life Christianity is the only true one, has been a little irksome and a little narrow, the matter is resolved when he makes it clear in these last pages that the single word Christianity is also the single word love: this will do, either for Christian or Jew.

Not many books fulfil as this does the need for both intellectual and imaginative, both critical and emotional adventure. *Heaven—and Earth* is full of purpose, lucidity, suggestion and the sense of discovery. It demands to be read; it demands to be believed.

CHRISTIAN CONTORTIONS

Arm the Apostles. By Rom Landau. Nicholson & Watson. 3s. 6d.

This book is the work of one who has seen the light—and then made a dash to pull down the blinds. Mr. Landau brings much common sense and sound moral judgment to bear upon the sorry sight of Europe arming for war.

He is particularly concerned to set forth in clear principles the duty of the Christian man in a world whose present standard of civilization is less than Christian.

For the true Christian conscientious objection is the only logical attitude to war. To respect the divine that is in each man so fervently as to refuse to kill him, irrespective of the suffering which this may entail for oneself, is obviously more Christian than to defend one's country and kill its enemies.

War never ends war. It always begets war. Some people imagine that the next war will bring to an end one period in history and initiate a new one. It will do nothing so impressive. It will be merely the price which we shall have to pay for our failure to make Christianity a fact instead of an observance and a hypocrisy.

The pacifist and conscientious objector have a most important mission to perform. For

it is they who act as inspiring examples to their less civilized fellows.

If only for such sentiments as these, supported as they are by nine brief chapters of terse and lucid argument, this book deserves a wide circulation.

The fact that the author is not himself a pacifist will win for him a hearing, especially among those who have enjoyed his earlier books, in quarters where pacifist literature—though it could hardly condemn war more outrightly—does not penetrate.

The emphasis laid on spiritual arming is one of the book's most valuable features.

But why, after acknowledging that the Apostles were originally unarmed, does Mr. Landau want to arm them? Because "so long as we are not able to translate the whole of Christ's teaching into action, it is inconsistent to cling fanatically to one particular command, even though its breach may have more disastrous effects than that of any other."

So if you see an opportunity of murdering your rival with impunity do not hesitate on moral grounds. As you have not yet translated all the commands of Christ into action it would be inconsistent to cling fanatically to a revulsion from murder!

But Mr. Landau has a still better argument which he keeps to the end:—

Once war breaks out the sacrifice of even one's loftiest pacifist convictions for the sake of one's fellows becomes the most obvious Christian duty. Some of the pacifists appear to be willing to do what is perhaps the highest mark of maturity of soul: to sacrifice their spiritual convictions for the sake of their fellows and to fight.

Which means that if you find yourself in a group of ruffians who are assaulting a child, you must not think of attempting to protest. Unselfishly sacrificing your own loftiest convictions you must join with the scoundrels in their crime, not because you think it right but because they do.

Thus the highest Christianity is to abandon Christianity in deference to non-Christians. The noblest morality is the sacrifice of all morality out of consideration for the immoral.

Through what contortions a man will put his conscience to escape the logical conclusion of his own convictions!

LEWIS MACLACHLAN

WEAPON FOR PACIFISTS

Economics. By Frederic Benham. Pitman. 7s. 6d.

"Disasters such as floods and fires and earthquakes and dust storms destroy or in-

jure persons and property. But the greatest disaster of all is war. . . . The same applies, although usually to a smaller extent, to a period of intensive rearmament."

The above is not a quotation from pacifist propaganda literature, but from a sober, scientific text-book on economics. It should serve to indicate to members of the Peace Pledge Union the necessity on their part for some knowledge of the principles of economic theory. Clearly such a knowledge will serve as a quiver full of non-violent arrows in the war for pacifism.

Great strides have been made in the method of approach to the study of economics in recent years, and the time is ripe for new text-books. We are compelled to modify our outlook on such questions as diminishing returns, the foreign exchanges, the influence of interest rates, a saving and investment, and State control. The present work is an attempt to present the new outlook and modern examples in an introductory form.

The author's treatment is sound but his presentation is not without defects. The book may be suitable for first-year university students and others studying with competent instructors, and able to profit by ample discussion. But the general reader would find it very stiff going, and at times incomprehensible. The author has not exercised that care in the use of expressions within the compass of previous knowledge so essential in the presentation of economics.

It seems inconceivable to the reviewer that any text-book on economics should be written today without some discussion of the relationship of economics to philosophy, even though the text-book is an elementary one. Few problems can be decided on economic grounds alone, and unless economics and philosophy are combined, the former is largely sterile.

The author has striven after impartiality in presentation. He has succeeded for the most part. But why does he say that:

The rich are so relatively few in numbers that even a completely equal distribution of wealth . . . would do little to raise the standard of living of the masses?

Surely this is to ignore the work and opinion of such reputable men as Colin Clark. According to Clark's estimate for 1929 (the only figures available to the reviewer at the moment of writing) the average income for that year was £193. But 61.5 percent of all incomes in the same year were under £125. Mention should at least be made of the contrary opinion.

STANLEY PRICE

Concluding extracts from a recent sermon by the REV. DAVID R. MACE, Superintendent of Archway Central Hall, Highgate. Last week's extracts from Mr. Mace's sermon showed how A.R.P. had reduced the fear of war, which, he thought, was to some extent a deterrent. This week's extracts give the positive Christian arguments against A.R.P.

A.R.P. and the CHRISTIAN—2

THE nearer we get to the actual doing of a thing, the harder it is to change our minds and not do it.

We all hate to prepare for things that don't happen, and get ready for events which do not come off. Even if we go to the dentist's and find, after we have screwed up our courage to the point of ringing the bell, that he has gone away on holiday, we feel a certain sense of disappointment that we have gone through such an inward struggle to no purpose.

There is a certain "psychological momentum" created by preparing for things.

This "psychological momentum" is a tremendously strong factor in bringing

about wars. If you want to see this clearly, read the *Life of Marshal Foch*, by Liddell Hart—a terribly revealing book about what happened behind the scenes in the last war.

Let me give you two examples from that book of the tremendous power of this "psychological momentum."

In December, 1909, Brigadier-General Wilson paid a visit to Foch at the Ecole de Guerre. They talked about cooperation between the English and French armies in the event of war. Here is an entry from Wilson's diary, written during that visit:—

Foch believes Germany will absorb Belgium peacefully and throw the onus of war on France. He is of opinion that, in the coming

war in Belgium, France must trust to England and not to Russia, and that all our plans must be worked out in minutest detail so that we may be quite clear on the action and the line to take.

THAT was nearly five years before the war actually broke out, yet they had all their plans cut and dried.

In August 1913 Foch was beginning to wonder whether he was ever going to have a chance to put those plans into action. Here are his own words:—

I had been expecting war for the last forty years, but I was beginning to think that I should end my days without having seen it.

Exactly a year later the war did break out.

Another illustration will show how the very same thing was true on the other side.

At the outbreak of the war, the German authorities received a mistaken message from their Ambassador in London, saying that England would not enter the war. That meant that France probably would not risk coming in either, so that the war would be confined to the East. The following illuminating conversation took place between the Kaiser and his Commander-in-Chief:—

"We march, then, with all our forces, only toward the East," exclaimed the Kaiser.

"That is impossible," was the reply, "the advance of armies formed of millions of men . . . is the result of years of painstaking

work. Once planned it cannot possibly be changed."

IT is a terrible thing to realize how completely those generals were the victims of their own plans.

They made their preparations, and the time came when it was impossible to unmake them, because the momentum they had created swept them into the thing they had prepared for.

My fear is that we are doing the same thing again. Our military leaders are definitely preparing for war. A momentum is being set up which will not easily be restrained.

The only hope is that public opinion will act as a brake, and hold back the military machine. But how can we do that if we too go the same way, and join them in preparing for war?

To my mind, that is just what this ARP propaganda is doing. Even in the last year, I have seen a definite change in the outlook of the people. The "will to peace" is growing steadily weaker and more irresolute, and in its place there is growing up a "Well, we must make the best of a bad job" philosophy.

THERE is a tremendous power in the psychology of mass-suggestion.

A nation of 45 million people thinking constructively in terms of positive peace-making is a terrific force for the saving of the world.

A nation of 45 million people thinking negatively of how they will safeguard themselves when the next war comes is enough to be the major factor in bringing that war into being.

Because I believe these things, the dictates of duty and conscience make it impossible for me to support ARP. You may feel free to do so, and if you do I cannot judge you or condemn you. But for me, the way of what I feel to be my Christian duty is clear.

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STONES OF STUMBLING—2

The Claims of Caesar

SPEAKING PERSONALLY

by

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

SO long as religion was mainly a religion of propitiatory observance, the outward and visible satisfaction of a God's claims, man didn't have to trouble much about his conduct to his fellow-man, so far as God was concerned; he made laws as he liked—there was no moral conflict between law and religion, as there often is today.

Only here and there, in the most advanced forms of religion, did any problems of conscientious objection arise—when conscience claimed to stand above law, and loyalty to God to come before loyalty to the State.

But we see the beginnings of it in the Hebrew prophets, and in men like Socrates, whose loyalty to the State made him accept, without evasion or resistance, the penalty laid on him, but not by a hair-breadth to alter his conduct or his convictions in order to save his life.

* *

ALL those religions of observance, therefore, with their limited conceptions of a God, racial or tribal, having a moral outfit as limited as that of his worshippers, had no difficulty in being consistent and honest.

Even when the Gods acquired moral attributes they were not of a transcendental quality; they did not reveal a new and a higher code—a spiritual discovery for the conduct of life; even at his very best the God was merely like a just and wise ruler with higher powers for the administration of justice and with wider knowledge.

But the case was very different when Christ revealed God to his followers as the universal father, making all men brothers, and calling upon them to be as impartial in their benefactions, to good and evil alike, as sun and rain; when he said that God is a spirit, and those that worship him must worship him in that same spirit, not with outward observance but with inward truth; when he said "the Kingdom of Heaven is within you"; when he taught them that the secret of man's reconciliation with God lay in human nature itself; something that man had not yet tried but was there waiting for his hand to grasp; that the unseen could become the seen: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father"; the unknown became the known; and that unknown thing was human nature itself as God meant it to be—seed waiting to be cast into right ground that it might bear fruit an hundredfold.

* *

CHRIST said he had come to fulfil an imperishable law, a law that could not be changed; fulfilment being necessary because its presentation had hitherto been imperfect; it had been given wrong conditions, wrong material to work on.

But the law was there, obscurely seen, misunderstood, waiting to be rightly applied. What was that law? We get it from Christ in one single saying: "Whatever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do unto them; for this is the law, and the prophets."

All down the ages that law, perversely interpreted, had been true; it is true still; you see it expressed racially, nationally, socially. Man's reaction to it has darkened all history. What he does to his fellow-man, his fellow-man does in return: tyranny, rivalry, jealousy, suspicion, violence, cruelty—set going, they all produce their like; when the other side gets his chance he pays it back in like coin.

Vengeance and retaliation have been accepted as the best and most practical way of righting wrong; and they have failed.

War has not taught men to cease from war; it has grown more huge and more horrible in scale; jealous rivalry in trade and commerce has not added to the wealth of the nations, it has set up impoverishing barriers; tyranny has not brought order, or well-being, or contentment to the

tyrannized; revolution has cast out tyranny only to set up tyranny in a new form.

Social neglect and indifference produce criminals—men who quite naturally neglect and are indifferent to that social order which has not given them a fair deal.

* *

YET, when our criminal code has been made more humane, justice more considerate of causes, prisons less stupid and cruel in their anti-social regulations, better results have always followed; there has always been, in response, not an increase but a diminution of crime.

Tested out with patience and courage and good will, human nature does react in like

kind to the treatment it receives. But no social system has ever yet had the spiritual courage to mete out to the human problem in its midst—and still less any nation to fellow-nation—that treatment which Christ laid down as the key for the solution here and now of the ills of human society.

Yet, when Christianity was young, the thing was done, and Christianity survived, and won through—having the faith and courage to face, for the demonstration of its truth, pain and persecution and death.

* *

FOR when one asserts the truth of that law of man's being, that like will produce like—even to Christlikeness—it is not



Yes, it's peace—but it passes understanding
Drawn by William Warbis

To SIEGFRIED SASSOON . . .

You know, you have written, that only out the inmost
Silences of the contemplative mind can come
Self-knowledge, and truth to counter the world's madness,
Quell bugle-bray and beat of drown-all drum.

You have known noise of war and quiet of water,
Crimson of blood and green of English trees,
Country immaculate or filthied with slaughter:
Your mind knows love and hate for what it sees.

And I, who love and hate, and see threatened
Peace, tolerance, silence and the slow
Flowering of thought, write this, though we are strangers:
You have enjoyed and suffered, and you know.

F. J. Catley

to say that it wins through without trial and suffering. And as there have been countless cases of individuals who have risen superior to man's vengeful and retaliatory expression of that law; so there have been as many, or perhaps more rulers, authorities, governments, who have not responded to its more spiritual expression; and they have put the righteous and the unresisting to cruel death.

Yet, when the matter was so tried out between the secular power of Rome and the early Christian Church, it was the Church that won; while she suffered, she made more converts to her witness for the truth than Rome made martyrs.

And had the Church not allowed herself to be institutionalized, and made the ally and servant of Caesar, her witness to that truth might have remained unstained, undimmed, and might long since have brought God's kingdom to earth.

But she compromised, and thereafter Christianity became a different thing, divided in allegiance between God and Caesar; and, as time went on, accepted more and more, as a matter of course, Caesar's remedies for ill; and these were not Christ's.

Because that acceptance was sanctioned by the Church herself, men's consciences became dulled, and they did not realize—they still do not realize—that in spite of all their worship and devotion and reverence for the person of Christ, the Christian ethic has been lost.

Called by Christ for the fulfilment of the law and the prophets to put their faith in a right use of human nature, they rejected the call, and have gone on rejecting it to this day.

* *

THAT is the stone which the builders refused; and which, if Christianity is ever to live again and become real, must be brought back to its right place and become the headstone of the corner.

That, in this complicated modern world of ours, is still the great stone of stumbling: "Impossible," we say: "ridiculous!" And what has made it impossible? What has made it ridiculous?

The hindrances, which tradition has put in the way of truth do not stand still, they grow. It is very difficult for the average man to see that what is traditional and customary is wrong or evil.

And when tradition and custom make up a good deal more than nine tenths of a life and a social system which those at least who have influence and authority find fairly comfortable, it is not very likely that they will admit that such a social system is wrongly based, and is leading on to destruction and desolation.

* *

BUT Christ's charge to his followers was not to be traditional, but to be exceptional. "Ye," he said, "are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted?" And so far from telling them to seek conformity with nationalism, as the right social attitude for Christians, he said, "Ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake." The religion of nationalism is not and cannot be the religion of Christ.

The hindrances to true Christianity today are hindrances which have grown greater and greater as time has gone on, because, from their long-standing, men have come to accept them not merely as reasonable but as necessary.

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September 3, 1938.

THE CRISIS: THE REAL SOLUTION

RIGHT in the midst of the alarms and anxiety that has accompanied the unusual diplomatic—and military—activity of the past week or two fell the tenth anniversary (last Sunday to be exact) of the signing of the Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war. They noticed it in the United States, and Mr. CORDELL HULL reminded the gentlemen of the press that 63 nations had declared that

the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be . . . shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Mr. HULL described that pledge as "binding" on those nations. A Japanese official spokesman has, in fact, pointed out that it is just because his country is so bound that it has not declared war on China.

But what of our military preparations, what of the hint, however vague, contained in Mr. CHAMBERLAIN'S March statement of British policy (and now reaffirmed by Sir JOHN SIMON), that we might be found to be helping to solve the Czechoslovakian dispute by other than pacific means?

It is true we have done much to help to solve it by pacific means, particularly by sending LORD RUNCIMAN to Prague in the rôle of an unofficial adviser. For all its sins of omission and commission (and it is difficult to know which are the greater), the Government deserves full credit for that. Certainly, too, it is to be hoped that such a solution, whether aided by British mediation or not, will continue to be sought in Prague. It would surely contribute greatly to that end, for instance, if the Czechs were to do no more than give full, if belated, effect to all pledges they gave in regard to minorities in the peace treaties—giving them effect in a generous spirit, and not only in the precise letter, and now, as a human right, and not only by agreement, as a hard-driven bargain.

But it is being increasingly realized that "the Czechoslovakian dispute" is not merely (though that word suggests an unwarranted minimizing of the difficulty of this aspect of it) one between a minority and the majority which governs it. The direct intervention of the German State—at least of the whole of the State propaganda machine, if not also of the military machine—is more than the natural interest of a country in all her sons everywhere.

Beyond the question of the treatment of a minority in Central Europe, there lie, as this newspaper has consistently declared, political and economic problems affecting the well being of all Europe at least. It is officially admitted even that the Spanish problem is bound up with that of Czechoslovakia. It is at last being shown clearly that the whole business is really nothing more nor less than the old struggle for power in Europe.

But if this analysis makes gloomy reading for the masses who, as everyone realizes, do not want and cannot benefit from war—in as much as what they want will not deter men who are set on power politics, any more than will all the sound arguments that can be given against the war method—it also shows clearly the way to peace.

As pacifists can no longer be taunted with having a too simple analysis of the several crises that succeed one another with increasing rapidity, so their logical solution—a treaty for peacefully living together drawn up now in the interests of all the peoples concerned, instead of after the war that is now threatened as a result of struggling for power among rival States—can no longer be ignored if a realistic solution of the present crisis is honestly sought.

Problems of the Peace Movement

—BEN GREENE—

(prospective Labour Candidate for South-West Hull and Secretary of the Association of Constituency Labour Parties)

shows how the Communist Party acts as a servant of Russian power politics



THE pacifist movement can no longer ignore the ever-growing expression of hostility which is directed against it by a section of the wider peace movement. The significance of these attacks, coming with greater frequency and increasing venom, lies in the fact that today the most dangerous opposition to pacifism comes not so much from the Right as from the political Left wing which, till quite recently, was more than sympathetic to the pacifist position.

Pacifism is a lost force if it fails to grasp the deep significance of this new development.

The history of the non-pacifist peace and progressive movement in recent years has been an unmitigated tragedy. The tragedy lies in the fact that this movement in all its diversities has been subverted, to an ever-greater degree, to a school of thought which may have had elements of progressiveness about it in the past but which today is the embodiment of retrogression.

Its effects can be seen in the tone and temper of progressive opinion today. Its old confidence has gone. Its challenge to the moral wrongs of our age has lost its spirit of fiery impatience. It is instead a movement cowering with fear, with its generous impulses suppressed and with its principles compromised.

The wider progressive movement has fallen an unresisting victim to the skill and vigour with which the Communist Party has applied its new technique in furthering the power politics of Soviet Russia.

THE new technique of communism is something of which democracy has had no previous experience and against which no sound system of defence has yet been devised. Even the Labour Party, with its long experience of communist tactics, suffers today from the paralysing influence of communist activity.

With the exception of the pacifist movement, which by its very nature is more or less immune, there is not a single body of progressive opinion which has not fallen victim to a lesser or greater degree to the direct or indirect influence of the Communist Party. This, despite the fact that there is in modern communist outlook nothing which can be associated with progressive thought.

In one feature communist technique has been consistent since its inception and that is an eagerness to fish in any troubled waters. But its method of fishing has altered considerably. It is no longer the incitement to workers to strike, it is no longer the cry of class war, it is no longer virulent denunciation of democracy, of the Labour movement and of the League of Nations.

Today it is cooperation even where it is resented and unwanted. We hear the cry for unity, for popular fronts, for peace alliances. We hear a great deal of the need for class collaboration. We hear a great deal of communist patriotism and communist concern over British prestige and British imperial rights. In fact, if we compare the policy of the Communist Party of today with that of ten or fifteen years ago, it is almost impossible to believe that it represents the views of the same political organization.

THIS contradiction of its old policy has made the new technique possible whereby the Communist Party is enabled to infiltrate all progressive and peace organizations.

Like the death-watch beetle, communists can now join and take part in these bodies without running counter to party policy.

They are accepted and even welcomed by those who, through their progressive ideals, helped to end the bitter anti-Soviet feud of ten and fifteen years ago.

In many cases they do not even declare their Communist Party membership.

They join Labour Parties, trade unions, peace societies, and even capitalist political organizations, not for the purpose of helping these bodies to achieve their ends, but solely for the purpose of either destroying them or capturing them for their own school of thought.

That school of thought is not peace, is not progress, is not internationalism nor working-class welfare, but it is a blind service to Soviet Russia and Russian power politics.

The Communist Party is controlled and financed by Russian communism, which is concerned solely with Russian political exigencies. It is the duty of the Communist Party to present Soviet Russia as a perfect, peace-loving, democratic State. It is the duty and purpose of the Communist Party to attack and vilify anything which endangers, threatens, or thwarts Russian interests.

Supported by the big financial resources of the Russian State, the Communist Party, through its membership inside the progressive organizations, has pursued a vigorous and lively propaganda, based upon the most skilful research work.

The propaganda is directed at "fascism" and, with the support of the Jews arising out of the Nazi persecution in Germany, has had an amazing and far-reaching success. The irony of all this lies in the fact that the Communist Party is despised and derided by the most unwitting victims of its tactics.

THE dominating factor in Russian European policy is today the same as it has been in the past, and it springs from the age-long rivalry between Slav and Teuton. There is nothing Russia fears more than a powerful Germany and, though her methods of opposition may differ, her policy has remained constant whether Germany be democratic or Nazi.

The issues that face us are not conflicts between communism and fascism nor even between democracy and dictatorship. What we are faced with are the power groupings which spring from this age-old Slav-Teutonic antagonism.

We have on the one hand the Russian policy of the encirclement of Germany which shows itself in the present French and Czechoslovakian alliances. We have on the other hand the anti-Russian proposals of Germany based upon a Western Power pact.

Britain, true to her old theory of the balance of power, is as yet committed to neither—though, previous to the Eden crisis, the policy of collective security brought this country pretty near to throwing in its lot with the Russian group. To the communist, therefore, the British position is of supreme importance.

Chamberlain has fairly effectively turned down British support of the Russian proposals, and therefore Chamberlain is the arch-enemy of peace and Chamberlain must go. To this end the communist is

now promoting an endless series of movements which aim at some form of coalition of the Left parties sufficiently strong to defeat Chamberlain.

Besides, the Communist Party has felt confident that its influence in the progressive movement is sufficiently strong to guarantee that a Left Government in Britain will support the Russian group, in the belief that this means supporting peace and democracy.

The one section of the progressive movement which is not likely to accept this thesis of a peace policy is pacifism. Therefore pacifism is also an enemy of peace.

To win support for the Russian power group, the Communist Party is exploiting to the full the horrors of the wars in Spain and China. It all helps to feed the flame of prejudice against "fascism" and helps to give a variation to the exploitation of the horrors of the Nazi revolution.

"Fascism" of the German and Italian type are presented as the black atrocity from which the world must be saved. No question may be asked, no discussion may be provoked, no inquiries may be instituted. The only attitude which the Communist Party will permit is one of undying and uncompromising opposition to this "fascism," which it describes as the most brutal phenomenon in the history of the world. We know how widespread and effective this propaganda has been.

IT is difficult even for pacifists to remember that communism in Russia and Nazism in Germany mean practically one and the same thing.

Both countries are governed by revolutionary forces which arose to abolish evils from which their peoples suffered. In both countries there is generated a high sense of service and sacrifice which has a high spiritual value and which is directed to social reconstruction and national welfare. They have both succeeded in redeeming themselves from organizational collapse, and their peoples today are full of hope and confidence in the future. Both countries and both systems have great achievements to their credit.

But on the other hand they are both dictatorship countries which suppress individual liberty as we understand it in this country. They are both one-party States and the welfare of the party is identified with that of the State. They both maintain and take pride in vast military establishments.

They both have their secret police and, where one uses the execution squad, the other employs the concentration camp. Where one marched ruthlessly into an independent Austria, the other equally ruthlessly marched into and annexed an independent Georgia.

Where Germany and Italy pour men and fighting material into the civil war in Spain, so Russia poured her money and her guns to destroy and weaken other countries, especially democratic Germany in her hour of greatest trial. Where one proclaims race, the other proclaims class.

Both Nazism and communism represent a system of human relationships which are repugnant to the conceptions of freedom and sanctity of the individual of which the pacifist creed is an expression.

The pacifist rejects the power politics of his own country; he equally rejects being made the pawn of the power politics of another. And we see today the tragedy of the peace movement, which began with conceptions of international justice and equity, with dreams of conciliation and disarmament, of a world order of economic sufficiency, now being gradually and systematically subverted to the position of a pawn in the game of power politics; the peace issue is now no more than a discussion as to which kind of war is a peaceful war.

But because the pacifist will insist that you cannot have peace through war, that you cannot have peace through the play of power politics, that we will not support one set of Powers as against another, we are denounced as bolsheviks in one period and as fascists in another.

WORLD COMMUNITY IS HERE

NO PEACE UNTIL WE REALIZE IT, SAYS SPANISH STATESMAN

Warning Against a "League War"

IN a remarkable address at Geneva on "The Cause and Cure of Article 16," Señor Salvador de Madariaga, former Spanish representative on the Council of the League of Nations, put forward the view that peace could not be attained until all peoples had a living sense of being part of a world community—which already existed in the economic sphere.

He also showed that a "League war" under Article 16 would prove as futile and barbarous as other wars had proved.

NEW VISION IN THE NORTH

From MARTIN ALLWOOD

"THE Nordic States under God can reconcile the Nations." I flew from Stockholm to Visby, the old Hanseatic capital of Gotland, to find out what was behind these words. It goes without saying that, as a pacifist, I had long been interested in the bridge-building work of the Oxford Group. And I read their invitation:

More than ever the eyes of the world are turned to the North. Our countries together can show a supernatural unity, a family of nations, where each of us, while preserving his individuality without egoism, can collaborate with his neighbours. United, the countries of the North shall make the world listen to their common voice. This is our great opportunity; if we seize it, it may mean the transformation of Europe.

The 20,000,000 inhabitants of the Scandinavian and Baltic countries may be mobilized for peace and reconciliation of the nations. But this demands a whole army of men and women in living contact with God. Liberated in their own lives from fear and hatred, jealousy and egoism, they can show the way to the solution of the same problems also in national and international life.

There were 700 people at Visby—Americans, Letts, English, Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, Finnish, Danish, and even a few Germans. When I was about to write my name in the guest book of my hotel, I saw the signature of one of the richest men in Japan.

The remarkable thing was that all these people, with so utterly different problems and temperaments, seemed to achieve a spiritual unity which defied all the laws of my psychological training, and all the common sense I generally apply to these gatherings and their results.

A prominent Swedish bishop, Professor Runestam, preached the Sunday sermon. He said: "I have to admit with shame that the Church has been asleep. We have to learn from laymen the business of God."

ALTERNATIVE TO ARMS RACE

I felt that here at last a race quite different from the rearmament race had been initiated in Scandinavia. A noble competition between the peoples as to who can do most good, be most hospitable, forgive most malice, and show most understanding.

When we can convince people that that is the only interesting race, we shall have killed at the root the psychological factors that make for isolation and self-sufficiency.

We pacifists, wherever we stand, need courage—not only courage to endure and be martyrs of a cause we know to be right, but positive courage to admit the good qualities of others, and to build much finer things than we had thought possible.

That sort of courage is reckless and blind, yet psychologically justified, if we are not going to waste our time on problems that eventually will solve themselves by the grace of God.

To many people this sounds like the Purple Cow. But a person who has had a vision is always ridiculed and sweetly silenced.

NEW SPIRIT ABROAD

The realization of that vision seemed nearer to us during the days I spent at Visby than at any other time. There is a new spirit abroad in the Northern countries, which have for so long hidden themselves behind the mask of "neutrality."

This spirit will have a very real fight from the first: the Stockholm papers announce a vast scheme of air raid precautions, with a complete black-out of the capital during the first week in September.

WHY ARTICLE 16 FAILED

From a Special Correspondent

SEÑOR DE MADARIAGA, who was addressing the summer school of the Geneva Institute of International Relations, suggested that Article 16 of the League Covenant was an outcome of a very vivid impression of past danger, which had made men seek to secure themselves, in the only way they could think of, against a repetition of similar events. The trouble was that human imagination failed to realize the immensity of its problem.

Added to the fear motive was a guilt motive, which further twisted men's ability to think straight. Between them the pacifist and the politician tangled the clauses of the Covenant, one stressing the disarmament motive and the other qualifying each disarmament proposal with clauses safeguarding the national rights.

FAILURE TO DISARM

The speaker went on to point out some of the reasons for the failure of Article 16. It had not been sufficiently recognized, he maintained, that Article 8 was the first article dealing with collective security. It required the reduction of armaments.

Carried to its conclusion, i.e., the complete renunciation of armaments, it would have meant complete collective security because nations who have no arms will not be liable to go to war.

Unfortunately, instead of concerning themselves with disarmament, the nations clamoured to secure their rights on the credit side of the agreement and the debit side was neglected.

Article 19 of the Covenant made provision for the review of treaties but was hopelessly inadequate. One reason for its insufficiency lay in the way in which Article 18 (registration and publication of future treaties) and Article 20 (abrogation of inconsistent obligations) were dealt with in Geneva. Treaties were merely registered and nothing was done to make sure that they were compatible with the Covenant.

The legal defect of the League that had been most injurious to it had been the fact that America had not joined it. It was useless to be told that America was willing to help the League, because nothing short of hundred percent cooperation was any good from the point of view of the system. He would go so far as to say that ninety percent of the League's troubles were due to this factor.

LEFT TOO LATE

Another great difficulty the League had to face was that business was only brought to it for settlement when all other methods had already been tried and had failed. If collective security implied anything it certainly implied a collective policy which it was impossible to apply when things had gone too far.

Article 16, insisted Señor de Madariaga, had been imagined on the basis of a misleading parallel between men and nations. Nations could not, as individuals could, travel about the world taking part in conflicts here and there as occasion demanded. Nations had the immobility of vegetables. Very big nations, like the British Empire, had a certain false appearance of mobility because they had several bases in different parts of the world.

War was a phenomenon of nature, but that did not mean it could never be got rid of. So, for instance, was cannibalism, but that had largely disappeared.

Collective security as imagined under Article 16 amounted to saying: "If one nation eats another nation, then we will all get together and eat the first nation."

As soon as war was in men's minds the pattern of life changed. The pattern that linked together all these "vegetable nations" altered entirely.

War, in fact, created its own patterns. If you put yourself into the war pattern

every value shifted, whatever the cause of the war.

If Britain fought a war, she would recall Nelson, Wellington and great names of past wars. She would have to raise the necessary morale from the war spirit of her past.

Ninety-nine percent of the martial will of the people would have nothing whatever to do with the terms of the League Covenant. The failure of Article 16 was proof of this.

How could we get away from this war spirit of our past? asked Señor de Madariaga.

War might put on the guise of League of Nations or Union Jack, but in either case it would carry back the human being through generations of progress, making him capable of killing his fellow-men in a way of which he would not be capable in normal circumstances.

WORLD AN ECONOMIC UNIT

The human intellect had woven the world into one economic unit. Because there was this economic solidarity we had woven into the Covenant of the League an article implying collective security from war.

Since we had pooled our economic system we endeavoured to pool our security. But did we really acknowledge our common interests?

Until we indeed believed we were one we could never be one in policy. Our present position in history was that of a creature with one body and fifty heads.

The basis of Article 16 was the physical security of mankind. Until we had unified our emotions and feelings toward each other such security was unobtainable. Sanctions, for instance, could not be applied without a unified desire for action which was not at present forthcoming. Article 16 was built out of fear, and fear was negative. It was couched in the language of negatives.

Cooperation must be positive. What were we going to cooperate about?

POSITIVE ACTION NEEDED

When the human being was healthy he wanted, not security, but risks. Something positive must be put forward to give a new spirit to the League. When we were too busy being constructive to think about, or talk about, peace and war, then, and then only, should we achieve peace.

Article 16 said

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants... it shall be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League.

It was the English jurists who drew up that clause, and to them the words "it shall be deemed..." had a meaning, which was far from being the case from the point of view of the League.

To an Englishman the existence of England was such an obvious thing. The English community was one of the strongest and best established in the world. In a very extraordinary way every Englishman was England. No-one, in that sense, was "the World."

The reason why Article 16 was created was because the English jurists believed that the World existed, just as England existed for them. But it did not so exist.

Until each nation had a living sense of being the World we could not have peace, and when there was a general belief amongst all people that the World, as such, existed, then Article 16 of the Covenant would no longer be necessary.

New Zealand

Admit Japanese, Urges Bishop

BEST METHOD OF DEFENCE

Why not, as a fresh, bloodless, and altogether satisfactory means of defence, having in view, for example, such a possible and powerful enemy as the Japanese, offer them a room in a land like this, which New Zealand could not possibly people?

THIS suggestion that, instead of preparing to fight Japan, New Zealand should prepare to meet one of her grievances, was made by the Bishop of Waikato, New Zealand, in an address to Waikato Synod.

The Bishop, the Right Rev. C. A. Cherrington, said he thought it was "completely ridiculous" to suppose that New Zealand "could possibly be defended with troops raised from our paltry population, two or three ships, and a score or two of aeroplanes."

AS A GIFT

The whole of the north of Australia was, he understood, at the most only sparsely populated. It was said to be an impossible country for white people.

"Why not offer it as a gift to the Japanese?" he asked. "In twenty years they might make it a veritable garden of the Lord." We cannot use it. Then why keep it, like a dog in the manger? "Look at the waste in New Zealand—miles and miles of land that our scanty population cannot make use of. Why not offer large tracts to the Japanese?"

NO DISADVANTAGE

"We have all sorts of people of different blood living side by side with us now, and it would be no disadvantage to us if only five million were admitted. New Zealand would not know itself for the wealth that would ensue."

That his suggestion would sound startling to New Zealand ears was apparently realized by the bishop, for he added that politically speaking, such a procedure might be looked upon as wrong and chimerical; but, he said, the matter had to be considered from the Christian point of view, or one's Christian beliefs meant nothing.

ENCOURAGING

An encouraging feature of the Peace Pledge Union's publicity van's tour of Hampshire (reported last week) was the sale of PEACE NEWS in some places. In towns and villages on the outskirts of the New Forest, for instance, forty copies were sold every day for four days. On one day in the Haslemere district, eighty copies were sold.

WAR REGISTER IN INDIA

A sign that the recent announcement of a "man-power committee" for Kenya was not isolated instance of imperial preparation for war, was report last week that in South India registration of skilled workers is proceeding, to be used in event of war.

PEACE NEWS FOR INVESTORS

High dividends are no compensation for the worries attendant upon speculative investments. The peace of mind that can only be yours when you know your savings to be safe is far preferable to profits that are hazardous.

St. Pancras Building Society offers you an investment that is both safe and lucrative. Your money will earn four per cent. free of tax, and it can always be withdrawn in full if need arises. Write for the Society's "Guide for Investors."



ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY

117, PARK STREET, LONDON, N.W.1

Group Notes

By John Barclay

CALLING ALL GROUPS

WE are at a critical moment in the history of the world. Have we the imagination and courage to act in the light of our faith? The historians of 1999 will have an easier task if we can act with a clear-sighted vision now. The job before us is to arouse the world before it is too late—to point out the way to constructive peace-making so clearly that the tragedy of world chaos will be averted.

From Sponsors to the latest recruit the call is clear. We must give ourselves wholeheartedly to the work of creating a peace fever. There is no one who cannot help. Academic discussion will get us nowhere. We must convince as many as possible in as short a time as possible that unless the war machine is "spiked" it will crush us all.

Before it is too late, therefore, make the special effort needed for the new advance. My call is for a renewed enthusiasm to inspire others along the following paths:

1. Great open-air demonstrations—if necessary three in a week, calling on people to "look before they leap."
2. More poster parades, leaflet distribution, and personal contacts.
3. A visit to every minister of religion, appealing to him to stand firm and refuse to act as an agent for the War Office.
4. Collect funds by every possible means so that we can have the wherewithal to push on with still greater activity during the next few months.

Now that August is over there is an opportunity to get everyone together in the group and to pool ideas and energy. The winter of 1938 may easily prove to be the prelude to a year of greater happiness. It will only be so if we are prepared to take our places in the most advanced position.

NEW MEMBERS

I am getting out a scheme which will be ready, I hope, during September that will make it possible to double our membership. There are large numbers of people who are only waiting for information in order to join the PPU, and a house to house campaign will be necessary to find where they live. New literature detailing our work and our aims must be got ready to be placed in their hands as soon as possible.

PEACE CENTRES

New centres and peace shops are in active preparation. Please let me have a postcard at once saying what you have in the way of furniture to help furnish these new adventures.

In the course of the next few weeks it is hoped to publish a short summary of centres which have already been active during the last twelve months. Great progress has been made and the experience gained will be invaluable to those about to begin.

GROUP MEMBERSHIP

During the last month, in spite of holidays, several groups report an increase in their membership. This is specially true where groups have already published the winter programme. An attractive programme worked out three months ahead makes for a much more active membership.

Essential Points in the P.P.U. MANIFESTO

THE Peace Pledge Union, founded by Dick Sheppard on the basis of the pledge: "We renounce war and will never support or sanction another," makes this appeal to all who seek peace within and between the nations.

The pledge to renounce war, involving as it does the refusal to allow governments to make use of the weapons of violence in support of foreign policy, leads inevitably to the necessity for a new foreign policy, based on economic appeasement and reconciliation. The most pressing need is to take immediate steps which will lead ultimately to the establishment of a really serviceable League of Nations.

The new League must be based on provisions designed to meet the economic requirements of the large masses of poverty-stricken people to be found in varying degree among all nations of the earth. The satisfaction and security of each and every nation must be, and can be obtained in the well being of all.

Now is the time when every democrat should concentrate upon and call his government to confront the real and pressing economic needs of the people of the world.

Meetings

Nottingham.—Central group commences winter session, September 5, Friends' Meeting House, Friar Lane 7.30 p.m. Open Discussion 8 p.m. Resume of Current Events (speaker: Thomas Abbott). Interesting programme has been arranged for winter, and new members will be cordially welcomed.

Bewdley.—Weekend school on "The Progress of the Peace Pledge Union" September 17 & 18; speaker, Roy Walker. Members intending to be present, please apply at once to Mrs. B. A. Phillips, 57 Middle Park Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham, 29.

Groups are invited to send names and addresses of people (pacifists or others) within easy reach of the City, who might be persuaded to attend a meeting addressed by Lord Ponsonby, George Lansbury, and Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence on October 23, to City PPU Group, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

T. Kaye Earnshaw, 29 Whittaker Avenue, Layton, Blackpool, would be pleased to hear from pacifists (speakers particularly) visiting Blackpool, who would like to assist at open-air meetings on the sands.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

West Norwood group will not meet in St. Luke's Church Hall, which is undergoing redecoration, until September 13 when Mr. Sydney Larcombe will speak on the W.R.I.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in Kings Square, Barry. Also in Llandaff Fields, Cardiff at 8 p.m. on Sundays.

Open-air meetings are now held on Footing Bee Common every Sunday at 7 p.m., as well as on Clapham Common (3 p.m.) and Streatham Common (6.30 p.m.). Arranged between Streatham, Battersea and Wandsworth groups.

PEACE NEWS Sellers Wanted

Leeds.—Every Saturday afternoon. Also house-to-house selling at any convenient time. Write J. Michael Rosenblum, 4 Grange Terrace, Chapel-tov, Leeds 7.

Bexley Heath.—At Clock Tower every Friday, at 7 p.m. Write to Donald Port, 143 Singlewell Road, Gravesend.

Letchworth.—Volunteers for street selling wanted on Saturdays between 3 and 5 p.m. and 5 and 7 p.m. Also on Sundays outside churches. Please give details and times to J. Yardley, 49 William Way, Letchworth.

Bristol.—Every Saturday between 2.30 p.m. and 5 p.m. Write John Bamford, 24 Bromley Road, Horfield, Bristol, 7.

Blackheath.—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

Harborne.—Every Friday and Saturday. Write S. G. White, 46, Wheats Avenue, Harborne, Birmingham.

Cambridge.—Write to Austin Davies, 28 Malcolm Street, Cambridge.

Tunbridge Wells.—Write to Maurice Cransby, 4 Mount Ephraim, Tunbridge Wells.

Nottingham.—Fridays and Mondays. Meet Friar Lane, 7 p.m. Do not leave it to a few.

Poster Parade.

Ladies please note. All-women poster parade on September 17, at 6.45 p.m. from 96 Regent Street, W.1.

Miscellaneous

PPU members on holiday or resident in Leven district and willing to help in propaganda work, please write to Miss M. Simpson, "The Square," Kennoway, Fife.

Those visiting Ayrshire district please inform Miss Jean Brock, 54, Barassie Street, Troon (tel. 634), or Mrs. Sybil White, 71 London Road, Kulmarock.

There is now a service for the supply of literature at 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. Orders received by noon on any day can be ready for collection at the above address after noon on the day following. The object is to save postage for people who cannot collect their supplies from Regent Street, but can do so from here.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

"Things we want you to know"

September 3rd, 1938

POSTERS
Recently issued

ANOTHER NEW LEAFLET
entitled

"WOMEN MAKE
YOUR CHOICE"

Women's Voluntary Service
or
The Peace Pledge Union?
What each asks of you.

Price 6d. per 100 (Postage 3d.) 4/- 1000

"The PACIFIST FAITH
of a Surgeon"

By Dr. D. A. CROW
(Capt. R.A.M.C., 31st Field Ambulance,
Macedonia, 1916-17.)

Definitely—one of the "Things"
we want you to know—so much so
that we have now reprinted it
by permission of the Friends'
Peace Committee

8 pages 1d. Plus Postage No discount

No. 26 "Dic! Sheppard's work goes on and will go on"

27 "Mobilize for Peace with the P.P.U."

28 "Armaments are preventing the outbreak of Peace"

29 "War must be renounced as well as denounced"

30 "War is not playing the game"

34 "Peace can be negotiated—but never dictated"
but of 'Goodwill'"

32 "ARP, the thing you play when you're DEAD; P.P.U., the
thing to join if you're ALIVE to the realities of the world
situation"

34 "Peace can be negotiated—but never dictated"

33 "Lighter than the Sword," a lovely poster in colour

20 x 30

2d.

EACH

3d.

PUBLICITY VAN

A POSTER

Announcing visit of Van
with space for local details,
is now available

2d. each

Plus Postage

P. P. U. TIES

Ample Supplies
Now Available

GOOD VALUE
TASTE

Can be safely worn any-
where (except in your bath).

PRICE 2/- Postage 1½d.

"THE ADELPHI"

per 1/- copy

6/- per annum. Post free

NOW EDITED BY

MAX PLOWMAN

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

I SEE evidence of the imperialistic mind at work in the *Daily Herald*; reporting the dispute between Britain and the USA over Canton Island in the Pacific, it said that "a British landing party from New Zealand and an American party from Hawaii were sent off to occupy the disputed territory."

Then, said the *Herald*, "The New Zealanders and the Hawaiians settled down quite cheerfully alongside each other." (My italics).

I wonder why they didn't call the others "Maoris"?

Almost as pathetically funny was the Commissar for Finance in the USSR, who announced recently that the entire Soviet people would "rise to defend the Motherland from attack." The *Daily Mail* must be glad Russia's now as respectable as the rest of us.

EVERYONE KNOWS

Everyone knows that the Liberal Kosciakowski-Kwiatkowski Cabinet is weak, and that it hangs on a precarious balance of Liberal ministers against illiberal colonels, with Soznkowski and Rydz-Smigly in the background.—*New Statesman and Nation*.

Yes, my children were discussing them only yesterday.

ATROCITIES IN NIGERIA

Nothing is more pleasing to the eye than for an O.L., especially in a country many miles away from the old school and his friends, to see an O.L. tie or blazer, but think of my horror when I see natives walking round this town wearing blazers... made of material with our colours on, in ever-increasing numbers—is there nothing which can be done to stop this horrifying sight?

—Letter from Nigeria in *Leys Fortnightly*.

GOOD NEWS FOR BEAVERBROOK

"Keep free of European entanglements" is the cry of British golfers opposing the formation of a Federation of European Golf Unions (according to the *Evening Standard*).

GOOD ENOUGH FOR ABROAD

Mr. Fordham, for the defence, said Humphrey disclaimed all knowledge that the sardines seized in December were those that had been sent back to Portugal previously and which were never condemned.

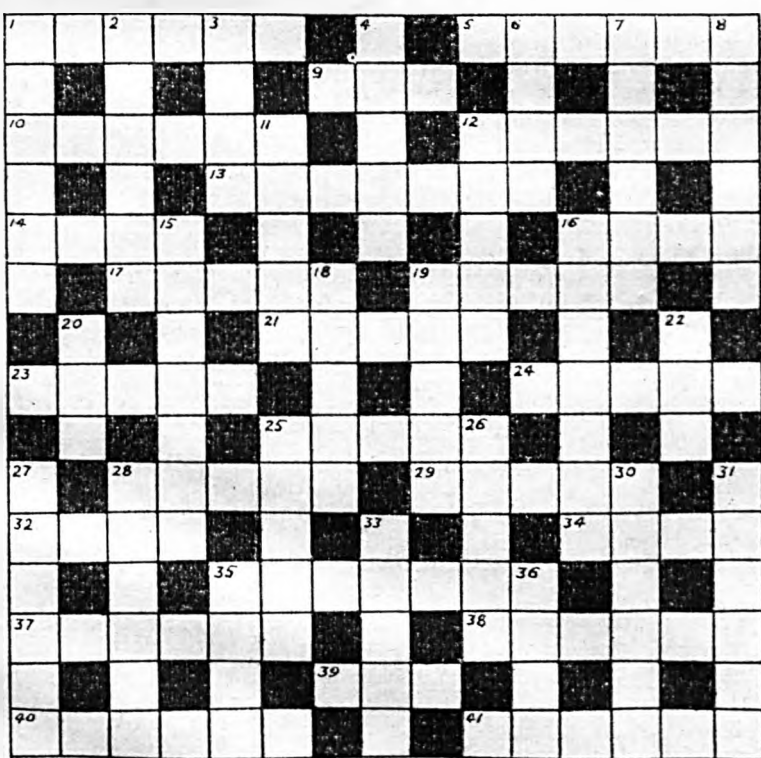
"We take the view," added Counsel, "that they were inferior, though good fish, not good enough for this country, but good enough for abroad."

—Times report of defence in a case of alleged sale of fish unfit for consumption.

FOR YOUR AMUSEMENT

ACROSS

1. Behead it and the beaters do it to the whole.
5. A reorganized search will help you.
9. Add one and reverse it for 25 down.
10. Back answer used in chemistry.
12. Adam was the first and Eve would not tell the last to keep in order.
13. Liberty.
14. Always includes a girl's name.
15. A heavenly body which easily becomes vermin.
17. Never hot or cold.
19. Pier which has a black beginning.
21. This is flat whichever way you look at it.
23. Curtail this pie and it's gone.
24. An insect and a French article make a wild flower.
25. Temperate though a cry starts it off.
28. Do this to this to grow it.
29. Part of this tree is in 5 across.
32. A wooden man?
34. It may sound taller but it is to borrow for payment.
35. To pull a face like a determined airman.
37. Feast regarding a storm.
38. You grow out of these, but they grow on you.
39. One found in 35 across.
40. Firm with a beverage included.
41. This man may do the first and wear 11.



DOWN

1. This supporter may be found in a trans- formed attic.
2. One way out.
3. A slave which sounds like breaking waves.
4. Five in a dance makes happy time.
6. Wander hither and thither.
7. The kind of laugh that gives you itself.
8. Guides young oxen.
11. This was long and winding in the Great War.
12. An ideal example.
15. A material and roof covering lives in the jungle.
16. True to a faith.
18. A store house.
19. Precious stone owned, perhaps, by the first part.
20. Either 2 down or a blow.
22. This is included in 37 across.
25. Beware or you may get caught here.
26. Cattle farm is a be-headed limb.
27. Usually of high standing in a church.
28. The whole may give you the end.
30. Beating out of sight.
31. It may annoy but you'll find comfort in it.
33. Strike a fishing boat.
35. Happy.
36. You may stand at it or lay down for it.

Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 3



"A penny bloater, please; an' muvver says will you wrap it in anuvver bit o' this paper wot you used last week, 'cause farver readed it, an' 'e's signed the pledge, an' been peaceful ever since."

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE.

Letter from the Editor

17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

EVIDENCE of the interest being awakened among church people on the question of peace continues to accumulate.

As I mentioned last week the address by the REV. DAVID MACE on "ARP and the Christian"—from which we give concluding extracts this week—was delivered in response to a very definite request for guidance by members of the congregation of the Archway Central Hall, Highgate.

Now I have received a copy of a "special peace number" of *The New*

Barnet Congregationalist, the magazine of the New Barnet Congregational Church. This issue is notable for two contributions from pacifists and two from non-pacifists—both of them members of the Church—setting forth their points of view.

There is also reprinted a story of DR. THEODORE PENNELL, the medical missionary, who, by remaining friendly and unarmed, preserved his life in more than one tight corner on the North-West Frontier of India.

Holidays in Holland

THE possibility of arranging an interchange of hospitality between Dutch and British pacifists has been suggested to me by a Dutch correspondent. The exchanges would take place during the holidays and would include groups as well as individuals.

I know it seems rather soon to be thinking about next year's holidays, but this particular proposal would need some months for preparation, and it's better for anyone likely to be interested to think over the idea now than to have to make all arrangements with hardly any notice.

Anything that will develop comradeship between pacifists in different countries is highly desirable, so I hope this idea will prove practicable. When there are more definite proposals they will, of course, be reported in this paper.

Tolstoy's Frank Friend

THE obituary notices of AYLMER MAUDE have recalled his valuable work as translator and biographer of *TOLSTOY*. Despite his long association with *TOLSTOY*, however, MAUDE never became a slavish follower.

On their very first meeting he told *TOLSTOY* that he had read his books and disagreed with many of his conclusions. *TOLSTOY* seemed attracted by his frankness and their friendship grew from the discussion they had then.

It appears that MAUDE also disagreed with *TOLSTOY* on the question of peace and war.

Apart from his literary work MAUDE also had to his credit the organization of the transfer of the Doukhobors (a Russian non-

Twenty-One Years Ago

From the *New Crusader*,
September 7, 1917

ONE of the delights of my boyhood [writes Piers Plowman (Stanley B. James)] was the puzzle-picture issued by advertisers. In a sketchy manner the artist had drawn some country landscape in which you were invited to "find the man." After more or less scrutiny you were able, by holding the card at a certain angle, to see human features peering at you from the boughs of a tree or the smoke of a chimney.

It came to me the other day that this quest of my boyhood had become the quest of my life. In this complex civilization of ours I am seeking the man. It is the human element alone that satisfies. It is personality that we're all after. Laws, institutions, officials may amaze us by their cleverness. It is never until we reach down through these and touch a fellow human that we are really interested.

It is of infinite importance in the social entanglement to "find the man." Words like "capitalist" and "proletariat" only hide him. They represent dummy figures set up like Aunt Sallys for us to exercise our dialectical skill upon. It takes some deep experience to bring out the common human element in the contending parties.

The other day I read that one of two German prisoners, who had been recaptured after making their escape, remarked to his escort as he glanced at the smiling English landscape, "What a beautiful country!"

All at once, out of the distorted picture drawn by fear and hate, started, as I read that, the face of a man. Here was somebody who liked to see the fields of August, yellow with corn, somebody whose heart warmed within him, as yours and mine do, at the sight of farms and cottages peeping out of clusters of trees.

It was really a revelation. That word, even using it in its theological sense, is not too strong. For it is the work of God to show us our fellow man in one whom we have been taught to regard as an inhuman monster.

It is no mere chance play of the imagination by which we "find the man" in our "enemy." There is a story in the Old Testament of two brothers who had quarrelled and lived apart for many years.

One of them, at least, driven by fear and an evil conscience, had been picturing his kinsman as a revengeful villain. When at last they met he exclaimed, with joyful surprise, that the face of his brother was the face of God.

But Jacob had had to pay for that vision. Spiritual wrestling alone had enabled him to break through his own suspicious imaginings and reach the truth. Only as he saw God had he been able to see his brother. It is the vision of that son of man, who also is the son of God, that will reveal the humanity of those with whom we are fighting. It is the vision of God in the face of Christ we need. Then we shall "find the man," and the world will be changed.

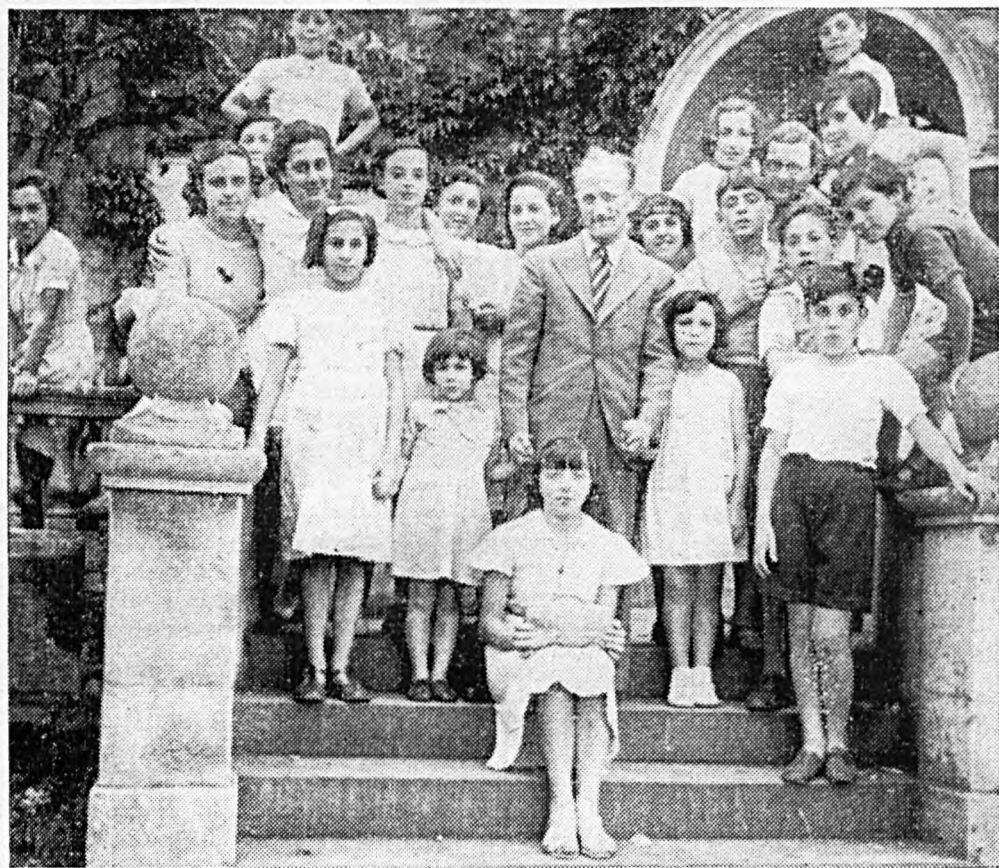
The pity of it is that the theologians and ecclesiastics seem to have done their best to make this a difficult task. How few of us, looking at those strange pictures drawn by the Creeds, have been able to "find the man."

Even the New Testament itself, so blurred in outline by our familiarity with its pages, so distorted by preachers and commentators, only rarely flashes the vision on us. They who, led by the spirit of truth, can see that vision and give us, not in words but in their lives, some idea of it will have conferred on us the greatest blessing that we could crave.

(Continued from Col. 3)

violent sect) from the Caucasus to Canada, in 1899. The lot of the Doukhobors in Canada, however, has not been a particularly happy one.

Maude himself was a very rigid vegetarian and led a strict life. An acquaintance, writing of him in the *Manchester Guardian*, declared he was "so particular about diet that it made travelling with him sometimes rather difficult, for he would have preferred starvation to any uncleanness."



A group at Basque House, Colchester, with the author in centre.

WITH TWO BASQUE CHILDREN ON HOLIDAY

By R. Hartley

MANY will have read of the Basque Home at Colchester being cleared of the children for the PPU conference, and at the same time to give them a holiday with their foster-parents. Many, no doubt, will wonder how these foster-parents really got on with them. I feel sure our experience will be interesting to many.

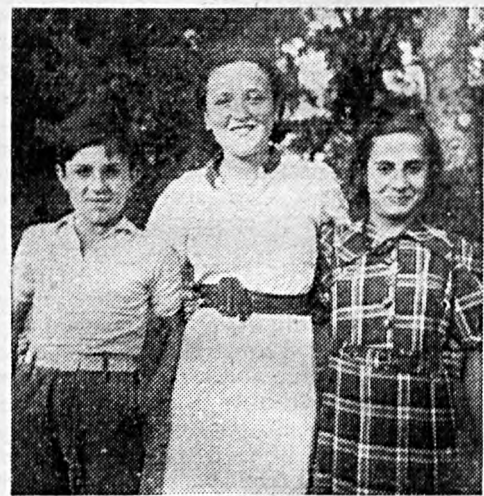
Having heard the "whispering campaign" of certain people that the children were "little devils" and "terrors," we, (my wife and I) realized it was something of an unknown quantity that we were taking on, but not being elderly people we felt quite capable of tackling any emergency that might arise.

Accordingly, we duly presented ourselves at Liverpool Street Station to collect our "little devils" (we had two—brother and sister). As we were told previously that

Zoo, cinema, &c., but we found they were just as happy in our own garden.

THEY had been given small sums of money to spend on their holiday by various friends we took them to visit, but they had saved it all. The only things they bought were 2d. stamps for their letters to their parents in Spain (they wrote almost every other day and they were anxious to post them themselves). When the time came for them to go back they had saved 8s. between them.

The morning they were due to go back they asked me to take them down to the shops, and when we had left my wife they explained that they wanted to spend the whole 8s. on a present for her. It was only with tact and diplomacy that I was able to head them off their original intentions, and let them spend the sum of 1s. 6d. between them on something I assured them would be more acceptable.



The two visitors (one at each end).

they spoke very little English and as we knew less Spanish, we armed ourselves with a cheap edition of an English-Spanish dictionary.

IT would be difficult to explain in words what really nice children they turned out to be. They were well behaved, clean, and exceptionally tidy. They were most anxious to do anything we wanted them to, and were particularly keen to help with the preparation of meals, cooking, housework, gardening, &c.

We found they were most interested in what to us were trivial things. As an example, our sand-glass egg-timer has never worked so much overtime as during their stay.

Their efforts to converse with us and answer our questions were often amusing and sometimes pathetic. It was tragic to us to find them up every morning at 7 o'clock, their beds made, and waiting for the postman, hoping for news from Spain that seldom arrived. They assured us it was nothing to them, as in Spain they had to be up at 4 o'clock in the morning to join the bread queue.

We took them about a good deal, to the

ARRIVING back at Liverpool Street Station, we there met the party of about fifty, all talking at the same time, in their own language, of their experiences. As I was still on holiday, my wife and I journeyed down with them to their "home" at Colchester.

When we arrived at Colchester we were met on the platform by Mr. Leonard Read. To the children he must be the most popular man in Colchester, for as soon as they spotted him, bags and parcels were dropped, and with a great shout they all swept down on him. I actually saw him lifted off his feet, and I have never before seen a party of children give any one man such a reception. His popularity with the children was immense, I can think of no other word to express it.

We eventually arrived safely at Basque House, and as Mr. Read was alone with the whole lot for the weekend, we stayed and helped him. We were struck by the way the elder girls in particular helped with everything, particularly in looking after the younger ones.

OUR impression was that the children are being well looked after. While poverty does not really exist, it was obvious to us that every expenditure has to be carefully considered. With the winter coming on shortly, I should think gifts of warm clothing would be very acceptable.

We also noticed the absence of literature; books in Spanish, we feel sure would be much appreciated by the elder children, but from inquiries we find they are very difficult to get.

We came away with memories that will take long to fade—memories of a happy band of children to the casual visitor; but there is tragedy behind many of their smiles. We found this out when we had become friendly with some of the elder ones. There are some there who know they will never see some of their relatives again.

NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

HOME COUNTIES

Richmond

WITH the cooperation of members from Hounslow and Wandsworth groups, the Richmond group has been able to organize a series of successful open-air meetings. It seems very likely that it will be possible to continue them throughout the winter.

It is reported that street sales of PEACE NEWS dropped during the summer months, but orders from signatories increased and made up the deficiency.

Arrangements are now in hand for a public meeting to be held in St. John's Hall, Richmond, on October 4.

St. Albans

After agreeing, at a regional conference at Welwyn Garden City, that some system of regular subscription should be tried, instead of allowing donations to rest with a few, St. Albans group has been trying out a new form of subscription—each member has been asked to pay 2d. per week. It was felt that a regular income was necessary to carry out a more efficient campaign.

It has been arranged to hold a public meeting on October 6, at 8 p.m., in the Victoria Hall. Dr. Alfred Salter, Miss Ruth Fry, and John Barclay will be the speakers, with the Rev. Morton Barwell in the chair.

Westcliff-on-Sea

A tableau entered in the recent Southend Hospitals Carnival was given a great reception. Along the route—which was seven or eight miles long—it was greeted with applause, cheers, and cries of "Good old Dick Sheppard."

The tableau, which was entitled "War's New Target," consisted of a lorry decorated to resemble a peaceful garden, with two women sitting in deck chairs and some small children playing around.

Further useful work was done by members who distributed literature en route.

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

I MUST apologise very sincerely for having failed recently to let interested readers have their weekly news about the children here at Basque House.

Life for the staff can on occasion be overwhelming, and at the end of the week to detach one's mind from the numerous questions which have engaged it, for the purpose of writing even so simple an article as this, sometimes requires an effort of which one finds oneself incapable.

This is what has happened, but here at last is a note in which I propose to tell you one or two little pieces of news about ourselves as one might in a letter.

WE are all, except for one member of the staff, at home again, and life is running smoothly, in spite of its occasional difficulties.

The staff, after a holiday in which most of them, by going away together, were able to strike up a new intimacy among themselves, are settling down to their work with at least one pleasant innovation of which we should have thought long ago. This is a daily staff meeting in the mornings.

Formerly we had staff meetings when the children had gone to bed, and usually only when circumstances seemed specially to demand them, and they frequently proved sleepy and disjointed. Now we find them perhaps in some measure as helpful and refreshing as many families must find their morning prayers.

Sitting in the office with cups of tea, which the Spanish adults of our family have learned to like—tea seems to be looked upon more as medicine in their country—we find we can get through much business with a minimum of effort.

AS for the children, they continue to wring one's withers—even, in their way, those who are, comparatively speaking, the ragamuffins of the family.

They are busy now with new works. Last week they made a tin canoe in which a child could sail on the river. Marina, Tomboy in chief, sank it by unskilful handling, and a member of the staff had to go down to the river on the sly, pull up the boat and destroy it because it had dangerous points of metal about it.

But it was, believe me, a shapely vessel, and perhaps the skill put into it will shortly produce a wooden replica, safer for limbs which come into contact with it.

As for other handicrafts, we hope that readers will soon be able to see and buy some of the products of our labours.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

LONDON

Hornsey Region

GROUPS in this region are looking forward to running a peace stand at the Alexandra Palace Trades Exhibition in October. At first it seemed doubtful whether such a stand would be allowed, but the difficulties have been successfully overcome and groups have now been allotted a stand in a very good position.

Members are now actively engaged in swelling the regional fund sufficiently to make a really good show.

Wimbledon and Raynes Park

A group training team has been started by these groups. Its object is explained in the August issue of their monthly news sheet:—

From the questions asked at our open-air meetings it is clear that it is fear that prevents these people joining us—fear of public disapproval, fear of losing their jobs, fear of being attacked, fear of foreign domination...

If we can demonstrate that it is possible to get over fear and to present, even in the face of aggression and persecution, an attitude of good will which will conquer violence and make possible a solution of the conflict satisfactory to both sides; if we can do this we shall convince the waverers who cannot be convinced by mere words. But we can only do it if we take the trouble to understand something of the forces that are at work during the conflict. That is the duty of the group training team.

MIDLANDS

Birmingham Region

THE Poor Children's Camp, which was organized recently by Messrs. Ken Thomason and Thomas C. Edwards on behalf of the Hall Green group, proved very successful.

Originally it was intended to rent a house for boys for a week, but the organizers were offered a field, and in the end seventeen boys and seventeen girls were housed under canvas.

Meals were the biggest item—the children only stopped eating when there was no more to eat!

A hose pipe on a tap provided shower baths every day. Camp fires and concerts were held in the evenings.

Four donkeys proved useful in the daytime but they were a nuisance at night. One night they kicked down the fire place. A big thunderstorm during another night scared the donkeys, but most of the children slept through it.

Other groups are active in the Birmingham district and peace tents have been held at flower shows in Northfield and Bourneville.

A large quantity of free literature was distributed and many inquiries were made about the work, not only by the general public, but by welfare workers, police officers, A.R.P. wardens, and even soldiers and sailors.

PEACE NEWS selling is carried out in this district with enthusiasm. There are about ten regular sellers in the city each Friday and others in the suburbs. In addition a sixteen-sheet poster is at present being displayed in a prominent position in the city.

SOUTH

Andover

AMONG those who have become interested in the PPU through the Andover Peace Group are several Welsh people and an Irishman.

The Irishman was wounded in Spain as a member of the International Brigade.

Channel Islands

At the invitation of Miss Mahy of Jersey, Canon Stuart Morris and John Barclay will fly to the Channel Islands on October 7 and spend three days addressing a series of meetings. It is expected that Canon Morris will preach on October 9. Full details will be announced later.

Hastings

Last weekend the PPU made its first appearance in Rye. On Saturday afternoon, a meeting organized by the Hastings group was addressed by John Barclay and Mary Wray. Despite some competition from traffic, interest was aroused and a new group formed under the leadership of Mr. McRae.

In the evening a meeting was held on the beach at Old Town Hastings, where John Barclay and Kenneth Wray spoke for 1½ hours. On Sunday evening another meeting took place. Many questions were asked, and despite the competition of a prayer-meeting on one side and a fascist speaker on the other, good results were obtained. Rain finally interrupted proceedings.

A new banner has been made by the Hastings group. The lettering is cut from yellow American cloth and sewn on a backing of green rep. The result is guaranteed weather-proof, and after the Sunday night squalls there can be no doubt about that.

Dear Sir . . .

A PACIFIST IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STORM JAMESON'S article on the problem of a pacifist in Czechoslovakia (*PEACE NEWS*, August 20) moved me deeply. How many of us could have found a cogent answer to her Slovak friend, "M"?

There must be times when, to a Central European, it seems that all the 1919 frontiers are menaced and that it is indecent for British persons to speak peace to one who lives in that seething pot; the British, safe in their inviolate island!

Yet, is it so indecent, after all? Are we one wit safer than Czechoslovakia? If there should be war between the German and Czech Governments, have we not been assured by the French, British, and Russian Governments that they would intervene? And is it not probable that the governments of most of the Central and the Southern European States would involve their peoples on one side or the other; as in 1914? Since the evolution of the air arm, Britain is among the most vulnerable Powers.

What we must ask ourselves is: if governments can rely on their men to fight or on their women to back them, will they not threaten and ultimately use war as an instrument of national policy? And why should the consequences of a second world war be better than those of the first? The second—if we allowed it to take place—would also be a war "to make the world safe for democracy"; as in 1914.

"M," the ex-pacifist, declared that (after the victory, which he took for granted) his people would say "No more of this." In 1914 the Allies put the same declaration in the forefront of their war propaganda. It was "the war to end war."

C. E. Montague wrote that when the Allies had won the victory they would "help to remake the old world as eagerly as they have helped to save and clean it." Did they? Their peace treaties were continuing acts of war and produced the fruits of war: dictatorships, stateless millions, tariff and transport obstacles, such an armament race as the world has not seen.

What is there in the dispute between Germany and the Czech Government which offers any hope of a better result from war on that issue?

This is the recurrent problem for all pacifists: not to do right in a right world, but to do right in a wrong world. Wrongs are persisted in until the wronged become strong enough to resist forcibly and then it is the blood of the innocent that is shed to stain the crimes of the guilty.

But the blood of children does not wash away the sins of their fathers who shed it. The fathers merely add one crime to another.

"M" said: "I have decided to fight so that my country may have at least the chance to remain free." But his country is a composite State, and it was compounded not by its various nationalities freely electing to form a confederation with equality for each, like Switzerland. A German, a French, an Italian Switzer may feel "free." A Czech may feel that his dominating position makes him "free." Some Slovaks may feel that they are more free under Czech rule than under German. The Germans in Czechoslovakia do not feel or never have felt "free."

The Czechization of German districts, the favouring of Czech officials, the use of land reform to despoil Germans, the abuse of language edicts, all created what Mr. Gedye called "second-class citizenship" for the three and a half million Germans and caused them to feel more loyalty for Germany over the border than for the State of which they were the forcibly imposed nationals.

Would not war, if indeed it were suffered to break out, become the most horrible sort of war: a civil war complicated by interventions on all sides? A war vastly exceeding in horror even that now waged in Spain? A war in which the fate of Jewry scarcely bears contemplation?

The resistance to the Germans in Czechoslovakia clearly presents itself to "M" now as resistance to Nazism; but it must be remembered that the wrongs suffered by these Germans began and were continued

for many years before the rise of Nazism, and were, indeed, largely the cause of revolt against Czech rule. If Germans in Czechoslovakia had been as "free" as Czechs, would the tyranny of Nazism have appealed to them?

Is it not the duty of everyone of us to insist that the Germans in Czechoslovakia should not be offered merely a choice of tyrannies? Should not be compelled to be either second-class Czechs or Nazis?

H. M. SWANWICK.
Satis, Boulter's Lane, Maidenhead, Berks.

Meyrick Booth (*PEACE NEWS*, August 27) suggests "one or two points" that Storm Jameson might have made to the young Czech pacifist by way of showing him the error of his thinking in relation to the Nazi menace.

I am afraid that these points would not cause Miss Jameson's Czech to have much respect either for Mr. Booth's ability to think clearly or for his general understanding of the Sudeten situation.

The German minority "problem" has everywhere been given a meed of attention quite out of proportion to its real significance to the Central European trouble. Hence, any criticism of the Czech Government's attitude toward its minorities, which ignores—as does Mr. Booth's—the more fundamental issues which lie behind Hitler's demand for "justice" to the Sudeten Germans, merely distorts the whole problem out of its true perspective.

In the first place Mr. Booth asks why, if the Czechs believe in freedom, they are ruling, by force, over millions of Germans, Hungarians, &c., who detest the Czech rule and long to liberate themselves from it.

I should like to know what evidence Mr. Booth possesses that the Czechs are, in fact, ruling by force over their minorities any more than our own government is ruling by "force" over its Scottish and Welsh minorities. Even our "free" England forbids the use of the Welsh tongue in Welsh courts of law—which is nothing if not oppression.

Further, may I ask Mr. Booth, before he continues in his virtuous indignation against the "oppressive" Czechs, to consider what the British Empire is doing ruling, by force, over millions of Indians, Africans, &c., who heartily detest our rule and long to free themselves from it.

Mr. Booth's second point is remarkably naive. He innocently asks whether there is any evidence that Nazi Germany has any designs against the freedom of the Czechs, as distinct from its "natural" interest in the German minority, and "imagines" that Germany would be completely satisfied if the Czechs were to cease their "tyranny" and agree to a plebiscite.

If Mr. Booth cannot see by now, as I imagine most informed people can see, that Hitler's new-found concern for the Sudeten Germans rises no higher than a desire to attempt the dismemberment of the Czech State in his *Drang nach Osten*, then not much more can usefully be said to him.

Minority "problems" are merely cloaks to enable dictators to hide their basic expansionist aims and to draw red herrings over the noses of honest liberals. If Mr. Booth doubts this, let him ask himself why Hitler is not adopting the same belligerent attitude toward Mussolini over the Southern Tyrolean Germans, who are suffering far more from Italian oppression than are the Sudetens from the Czechs.

Mr. Booth's third point raises the quite impossible demand for the Czech minorities to be organized into cantons after the Swiss model. In Switzerland the three nationalities are far more compact than are the nationalities in Czechoslovakia, where they are diffused and mingled over wide areas. The distribution of nationalities in Czechoslovakia is such that no definite political boundaries could be drawn round the minority areas without still further injustices being created.

Thus, even in the so-called "German" areas there are considerable minorities of Czechs and Slovaks, all of whom lived in peace with their German neighbours until Hitler saw fit to use the Sudetens for his own imperialist ends.

Finally, I would remind Mr. Booth that the Sudeten areas in Bohemia never have been part of Germany; they have been a separate community for about 1,000 years. In face of these facts, dare we say that Hitler's very recent avowals of policy with regard to the Sudeten minority are at all convincing, or that they are characterized either by justice or by common sense?

By all means let us try to be as fair as we can in our consideration of these matters, but I do appeal to all pacifists not to allow themselves to be deceived by the smell of such red herrings as these when they are used to hide more sinister aims.

ALEXANDER C. SPENCE.
22 Milton Road, Highgate, N.6.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

SURELY our Roman Catholic friends who are members of "Pax" have made a very useful and constructive contribution in the suggestion (reported in your August 13 issue) that all churches should be open day and night during an air raid for penitential prayer.

Here is a higher alternative to ARP, and one which doubtless many Christian people of all denominations will desire to see put into effect. In God's own house we may at least remember the necessity of praying for the sinner as well as the sinned against, for the men dropping the bombs as well as for the unfortunate victims.

Moreover, what a bold Christian lead it would be if members of every church all over the country declared beforehand their refusal of all ARP and their determination, if possible, on the occurrence of an air raid, to seek out the nearest church, and there remain in prayer and communion with God and one another until such time as circumstances made it possible for them to assist in the equally Christian duty of caring for the injured and dying.

Alas, that we have to talk in such grave terms in these columns; but here at least is one answer to our ARP fanatics; the highest I have heard so far.

Perhaps if a sufficient number of readers express approval, the idea could be worked out in more detail and submitted to the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups for nation-wide action similar to that of "Pax."

RONALD N. PAGE.
"Grasmere," 73 Woodfield Drive, East Barnet, Herts.

It is suggested that pacifists might feel obliged to take part in ARP because they could not contemplate the idea of doing nothing to help suffering humanity in the event of war.

But isn't there a wider humanitarianism even than the desire to relieve the suffering of our immediate neighbours? Surely the essence of the pacifist faith is that, the human family being one, we have an equal responsibility toward all men.

Or is the special privilege of those of us who see war as the greatest denial of human unity to witness to that fact above everything else, even if it lays us open to a charge of selfishness from our compatriots. Isn't it possible to have a too narrow idea of what constitutes "doing something?"

Is Martin Niemöller doing less now in the days of his imprisonment to help the people of Germany than when he could actively engage in pastoral work?

If we believe that participation in ARP fosters a war mentality and weakens our witness against war, then surely we should abstain from it.

Although we should probably all do whatever humanitarian work we con-

scientiously could in the actual event of war (and I do not think it would be limited to government-controlled action), I believe that our particular job would be to attempt to keep alive the ideal of pacifism and combat in any way that lay in our power the hatred and divisions which war breeds.

Even if we worked in a concentration camp, or spent our time in prison, or were put against a wall and shot, we should be doing something just as positive as ambulance work, and something which would perhaps be of greater spiritual value to humanity in the long run.

WINIFRED RAWLINS.
2 Rotherfield Avenue, Bexhill-on-Sea.

According to *The Times* of August 20, Sir Samuel Hoare claims to have "obtained the cooperation of all the churches" for his ARP drive in October. On October 2 clergymen are expected to say something nice about ARP from the pulpit and, in the latest circular sent by the Home Secretary to local authorities, emphasis is placed on "the initial impetus that will be given by the help of the churches."

Needless to say, the cooperation of all the churches has not been obtained. There are still numbers of clergymen in this country who decline to act as recruiting sergeants and it is to be hoped that many more will now give closer scrutiny to the nature of ARP and cease to take it at its own euphemistic valuation.

The questions they will ask themselves are obvious. Is war inevitable? If not, is it the duty of a Christian minister to help forward large-scale expenditure on the outward and visible symbols of craven fear and egoistic self-preservation? Is it not time to puncture the "humanitarian" pretensions of ARP by asking how many decontamination squads would be sent to Berlin to mop up the mustard gas our own planes would be dropping in time of war?

For it is surely obvious that ARP are nationalism at its narrowest. It proposes to provide British bolt-holes for British people and to ignore the sufferings of those who would be the targets of our own attack. The obvious fact that there is humanity outside our national boundaries and beyond our Empire is too often overlooked by the leaders of the churches in this country.

Let us all remember too that since ARP alone can neither prevent nor win war, we cannot support these precautions without supporting an expenditure of fifty times as much on bombs and bombing planes. This is the infernal logic of war-preparation.

Accept ARP and you must accept the whole rearmament programme, unless you are to be dismissed as a naive sentimentalist—or worse. Are there so many clergymen today ready to bless the guns and tanks, as some did in the Great War?

Christ taught that we should cast out fear. He enjoined us to do unto others as we would have others do unto us. And it will need more sophistry than many of our clergymen will swallow to pretend that Christ's example is sound authority for the murderous threat of rearmament and the ostrich-like panic measures of ARP.

In many countries today men are suffering the tortures of prison and the concentration camp rather than take part in war-preparation. Everywhere ordinary men and women are looking for some trace of Christian spirit, some sign of loving kindness in the policies of great nations, some steady example in the prevailing ethical chaos.

What answer will the clergymen of Great Britain make to them? Is it not time they turned away from second-hand fascism to the example of Christ?

JOHN BARCLAY.
ROY WALKER.
96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

WORKERS' EXHIBITION

I should like to express appreciation of the report which appeared in *PEACE NEWS*, of August 20, of the Workers' "Empire" Exhibition in Glasgow. This shows that you appreciate the importance of opposition to imperialism as a part of peace activity.

I should, however, like to correct one paragraph in the report. After registering disagreement with some of the literature of the ILP on sale at the exhibition, your correspondent says:

Unless socialists refuse to have any part whatsoever in the capitalist war game, unless they use all their power to prevent armament-making and bring the warmongers to their senses, the freedom and righteousness which they desire will never be achieved.

The ILP entirely agrees with this position. I don't think your contributor could find any ILP literature which suggests that we are prepared to take any part "in the capitalist war game."

FENNER BROCKWAY,
Secretary, Independent Labour Party.
35 St. Bride Street, E.C.4.

THE PRESENT DANGER

Important as our general pacifist appeal is, should we not concentrate our energies at the moment on avoiding the most imminent danger?—the danger that, if Hitler invades Czechoslovakia France will rush to attack Germany and we shall be dragged into war at the heels of France.

I am convinced that the bulk of British opinion, however far from true pacifism it may be, has no stomach for such Continental adventures. At an open-air meeting last week I appealed to the crowd for anyone willing to fight for Czechoslovakia, but, as might be expected, met with no response.

The trouble is that, as usual, the British public tends to do nothing and leaves its opinion unexpressed. To press it on authority is surely our immediate job—one that can be done both by pacifist and by those who do not believe in drawing down attack on us by interference in European problems.

Of course, this will bring down on us from our League of Nations Union and communist friends the accusation of allying with the isolationists, but that can't be helped. May I, therefore, make the strongest possible appeal for action on the following lines?

1. All PPU members write at once to the Prime Minister and to their MP, stating that they will not support a war on the Czechoslovak question and persuade all the others they

A CORRESPONDENT'S CLAIM

I was surprised to find your special correspondent Mr. Gwynfor Evans (*PEACE NEWS*, August 20) claiming that the president of the Welsh Nationalist Party, Mr. Saunders Lewis, has adopted the methods of Mr. Gandhi.

Surely, setting fire to other people's property cannot be considered as non-violent resistance? MARJORIE FENN.
The Oast House, Britains Lane, Sevenoaks.

Letters

(continued from column 4, page 13)

can, whether complete pacifist or not, to do the same.

2. As many as possible write to their local press, inviting all who are opposed to war on this issue to write to the Premier and their MP to that effect.

3. All Peace Pledge Union speakers at their next meeting make the same suggestion to their audiences, and in any case try to find out if anyone is ready to fight on this issue and report the result to Mr. Chamberlain.

If he can be snowed under with letters in the next week or so he may not read them all, but their numbers can scarcely be without some effect on him.

No-one imagines that this in itself would do anything to settle international problems, but we must deal with the most immediate danger first and a war postponed always means a chance of a war averted. But events move quickly, and we must move quicker still if the danger is to be avoided.

D. MARTIN DAKIN.

69 Eppleworth Road, Cottingham,
East Yorkshire.

NEED FOR COOPERATION

We, the undersigned members of the Peace Pledge Union, have had the opportunity, at the summer school of the Geneva Institute of International Relations, of hearing much concerning the activities of the League of Nations, and have observed the result of some of those activities as manifested in the various international bodies to be found in this city of Geneva.

Such observation has made us extremely anxious for greater cooperation between the Peace Pledge Union, and other pacifist bodies, and the League of Nations Union, as collaborators in all constructive measures which are being undertaken for the benefit of the world.

This thinking in world terms was most clearly brought home to us by an address from Señor de Madariaga—a speech the sentiments of which, we feel, would have been endorsed by every member of the PPU. To paraphrase freely: "The world," he said, "does not exist; each man is thinking in terms of his country and not of humanity."

Surely this demonstrates that we as peacemakers cannot hope for peace unless we strive to bridge the gap between ourselves and other organizations which are also working for good.

Before accepting this dictum every pacifist should acquaint himself further with all constructive efforts for world unity. PEACE NEWS might start the ball rolling by publishing a series of articles by LNU authorities, giving precise details of what has been and is being done by the League. In this letter we will refer only to the Court of International Justice at the Hague and the International Labour Office at Geneva.

As for that bone of contention, Article 16 (Sanctions), cannot we, as members of a society which has renounced war, leave the poor thing to its inevitable dissolution? As Señor de Madariaga suggested, Article 16 cannot work until the world is at one and after that happy consummation it will no longer be required.

ROBERT DAVIS (Birmingham).

EDITH E. ADAMS (Birmingham).

ROBERT E. ABBOTT (Tottenham).

CYRIL D. HUGHES (Manchester).

FRANK PARKIN (Banbury).

FREDERICK WESTON (Gloucester).

ELIZABETH F. COLE (Cambridge).

LAURA ABBOTT (Tottenham).

CICELY MARGARET CARGILL

(Johannesburg, S. Africa).

MARGARET HELEN BENNETT.

(South Kensington).

LAURENCE T. STEWART (Thames Ditton).

Quaker Centre, 52 Rue des Paquis, Geneva.

A. + A.A. = P.P.U.

Before the correspondence on poster parades in general closes I should like to say that I know the people who take part in some, having worked with them for years, and I know their motives are pure and that the job is done at personal cost. On a question of this nature it is very difficult to generalize widely and still keep to facts.

The comment in "A's" letter was useful as an independent opinion and has stimulated thought on the subject. Even if "A"

is not able to be an active member of a group at present, as one correspondent suggests, I hope that he will continue to read PEACE NEWS and remain loyal to the pacifist faith, and seek to serve the cause in his own way as opportunity arises.

Some of us know we are a little queer and poor expressions of our faith but there is room for all and a special place for the gifted and strong.

P.P.U.

PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT

Your correspondent, Mr. John O'Donnell (PEACE NEWS, August 27) raises a point which needs emphasizing in the interests of any effective peace propaganda, namely, the prevalent futility of imagining that peace is merely a condition of society very much like our own, but without any active bombardment by guns. There is no peace anywhere under any condition of capitalism.

"War is merely an extension of policy," said Clausewitz. It is—it is the extension overseas of the search for investment markets.

The Peace Pledge Union needs a definite financial policy and thesis. It should explain that profit is not only immoral but that it is impossible of attainment by all investors all the time. A number of people investing £100 each in the industrial pool cannot all keep drawing out of the pool £5 a year (in interest, rent, or profit) more than they have ever put in. Sooner or later some must go bankrupt.

The effort to push off this condition upon someone else is called "glorious competition," within shores. When it breaks the boundary, it is "war."

No pacific condition of mind can alter this basic fact of capitalism, and the PPU should explain how the people of any country can, by means of State-created purchasing-power, absorb a sufficiency of their own product, so that imports can be rightly regarded as an enrichment instead of, as now, dreaded as a threat of unemployment and deflated prices.

It will always be impossible to effect an amicable international exchange of products (in spite of Van Zeeland) while usury is the chief object of their creation.

To remove the usury motive needs simple legislation repealing the Bank Charter Act and empowering the Government to create and lend, free of interest, the money to finance our derelict farms, mines, factories, schools and housing schemes.

Such a policy would not only abolish unemployment, taxation, usury and poverty, but it is the only practical way to remove the cause of war.

GLADYS BING.

The Greenwood, Sandy Lane, Oxted.

A Cause for Youth

As the work of the Good Companions, of which he was one of the founders, is chiefly concerned with the Shoreditch area, Charles Stuart recommends to all PEACE NEWS readers L. P. Scott's booklet, *Growing Up in Shoreditch* (published by the Shoreditch Housing Association, Toynbee Hall, 28, Commercial Road, London, E.1, price 6d. and referred to in our "Commentary" last week).

"The Man in the Street" of *The Star* writes:

Here is a cause that might well be commended to youth itself—to the luckier young men and women of London who have always lived in airy, comfortable homes in the pleasanter suburbs.

Despite all the progress achieved through political action, the abuses remain. The chief hope for remedying them now seems to be to catch the eyes and the ears and the hearts of the newest generation.

"There is so much to be done and so little time to do it," ought to be the motto of every man and woman with a heart to feel and a mind to think. That, at least, is the mood in which *Growing Up in Shoreditch* leaves me.

It makes me think of Shelley's stinging line: "Hell is a city much like London."

WELSH COMMUNITY FARM

Boverton Place Farm, near Llantwit Major, Glamorgan, a community farm which is said to have opened a new and more promising life for sixty men and their families, was described in *The Times* last Friday.

Members of the farm, which has been taken over by the Boverton Castle Cooperators (Welsh Land Settlement), Limited, for intensive cultivation of garden produce, are entitled to a share of the profits after provision has been made for the payment of rent, interest on loans, &c., and allocation to a reserve fund.

The men and their families are housed in sixty cottages, forming a garden village to which the name "Berferad," the Welsh for Boverton, has been given. Each settler receives the agricultural wage for Glamorgan (36s.), to which is added overtime and piecework, bonus, and a free distribution of vegetables to the value of 2s. 9d., which last year brought the average weekly total to £22 9s. 6d. An inclusive rent of 4s. a week is charged for house and garden.

During the ten months ended January 31 this year the value of the produce sold was nearly £20,000, and the net profit was £1,755, of which £1,130 was divided among the members. In the same period wages paid to settlers and casual workers amounted to £9,245.

About 600 acres are under cultivation at present and about 60 acres are used for pasture. Another hundred acres are to be brought into cultivation at the end of the year.

A start has also been made with livestock. There are over 1,000 head of poultry, just under 100 sheep, and about eighty pigs.

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1½d. per word, minimum 2s. Box Number 6d. extra

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COUNTRY COTTAGE, rent or buy, price moderate. Parish where vicar pacifist. Modern conveniences desirable.—Box 107, PEACE NEWS, 17, Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

DRAMATIC

THE EVIL THAT MEN DO. new 1-act play by M. Pendered; 2 men, 2 women; 1 scene; price 6d. "Great Dramatic Intensity" (PEACE NEWS). LNU, Arcade Chambers, Northampton.

EDUCATIONAL

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM and responsibility, Felcourt co-educational school, East Grinstead, Sussex.

ST. CHRISTOPHER SCHOOL, LETCHWORTH (recognized by the Board of Education). A thorough education for boys and girls to 19 years, at moderate fees in an open-air atmosphere of ordered freedom and progress. Headmaster: H. Lyn Harris, M.A., L.I.B.(Camb.)

HEALTH AND MEDICAL

O, that some smart inventive man
Would patent, make and sell
A tablet with the garlic's power
Without that garlic smell.

ALLYSOL odourless antiseptic tablets contain garlic, but without its 'dominant odour'. Garlic is nature's most famous antiseptic remedy for illness that arises from self-poisoning within. Allysol makes garlic tolerable. Does not taint breath or body. Be rid of rheumatism and catarrh this pleasant antiseptic way. Leaflets free. Trial box 42 concentrated garlic tablets 3/-, post free from G. Millwood, Boxhill Road, Tadworth, Surrey.

DIARY OF THE WEEK

September

3 (Sat.) UXBRIDGE; 8 p.m. (opposite War Memorial); open-air meeting; PPU.

6 (Tues.) ROMFORD; 8 p.m. Market Place; open-air meeting; Charles Dering; Society of Friends and PPU.

7 (Wed.) BRISTOL; 7.30 p.m. Harrowdene Road Methodist Church, Upper Knowle; Allister Steven on "Pacifism and the Cartoon"; Council of Christian Pacifist Groups and PPU.

PECKHAM; 8 p.m. Friends' Meeting House; Rev. J. Whittle on "Human Nature"; PPU.

NORTH EDMONTON; 8 p.m. Independent Church; Roy Walker on "PPU and the Individual"; PPU.

8 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. Phyllis Webber on "Am I Still a Pacifist Today?"; City PPU group.

8 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4; 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; business meeting; City PPU group.

10 (Sat.) CROYDON; 7.30 p.m. Katherine Street; open-air meeting; Miss Sybil Morrison, John Barclay and George Piper; PPU.

COMING SHORTLY

September

17-18 (Sat.-Sun.) NORTHAMPTON; 3 p.m.-10 p.m. and 2.30 p.m.-9 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Wellington Street; conference on "Civilization and Pacifism"; speaker, John P. Fletcher; PPU, Northampton and district groups.

17-19 (Sat.-Mon.) BEWDLEY; weekend gathering; PPU; details from Mrs. B. A. Phillips, 57 Middlepark Road, Selly Oak, Birmingham.

22-24 (Thurs.-Sat.) LONDON, N.W.1; Friends House, Euston Road; congress on "The Principles of Christian Pacifism and its Task"; details from the secretary, Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

23-25 (Fri.-Sun.) GLASGOW; McLellan Galleries, Sauchiehall Street; Peace and Empire Congress; particulars from organizing secretary (Mrs. Helen Crawford), 79, West Regent Street, Glasgow, C.2.

27 (Tues.) DARTFORD; 8 p.m. Presbyterian Church, Watling Street; Lord Arnold, Rev. A. Herbert Gray and Cr. Mrs. Welch (chairman); PPU and For.

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THE ARYAN PATH

SPECIAL NON-VIOLENCE NUMBER

Vol. IX. September No. 9

AN ABSTRACT ACCOUNT OF

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All peace workers should read this special number—send 1s. 6d. for single copy.

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POINTS for the PLATFORM

Frontiers in the Air

THE following comment on "barricades" now being erected in the air over Europe appeared in the *News Chronicle* on August 6.

Germany is threatening to put up a balloon barrage to prevent Czech planes flying over the soil of Germany. France has already established a balloon cordon to keep Spanish planes the right side of the Pyrenees. Now the Dutch air liners have been warned to alter their customary route so as not to fly through the "prohibited area" of the air in which the British RAF manoeuvres are taking place.

Tariffs and quota restrictions, "prohibited areas," and coinage regulations have already reduced the ordinary trade and intercourse between nations to the minimum possible on land and sea. Now the balloon barrage closes the air too.

Ten years ago we should have laughed at the conception as the fantastic dream of a rather malignant lunatic. Ten years hence we may be weeping at the results of the folly which let the nightmare come true.

Inhuman Enemy

ONE of the first steps in waging war is to make a nation believe that its adversary is inhuman (or sub-human). That this belief is already being fostered is made clear by the following paragraph under the heading "Pest Destructor" from a Yorkshire paper, *The Telegraph and Argus*, of August 17.

Names for the Civil Air Guard scheme are still streaming in, by phone and letter, and now the total is well over 1,000. Among the aspiring pilots are bank clerks, motor engineers, bus drivers and conductors, chartered accountants—and one chambermaid!

One man gives his occupation as "pest destructor expert." It will be a grimly appropriate title if one day he is sent out in a bomber to attack an enemy!

Profits from Arms

AN increase in total profits from £3,803,040 in 1934 to £11,747,074 in 1937 was registered by the thirty chief armament firms. The following shows the individual increases in the profits of some of these firms:

	1934	1937
Vickers	613,261	1,411,656
English Steel ..	258,893	1,035,416
Guest, Keen & Nettlefold ..	274,960	898,728
Dorman Long ..	38,154	850,663
Tube Investments ..	363,815	825,090
Baldwins	153,664	405,473
Cammell Laird ..	29,173	232,856
Hadfields	93,396	269,040
Lancashire Steel ..	198,383	628,565
Swan, Hunter, & Wigham	96,416	249,325
John Brown	50,101	488,993
Consett Iron	8,506	511,762

Public Money for Private Enterprise

SIR JOHN SIMON gave the following figures, in a Parliamentary answer in July, of amounts paid from public funds to industries in this country:

	£
Beet Sugar	21,164,399
Cattle Industry (to producers)	18,218,859
Milk	5,764,297
Land Fertility Improvement	1,889,205
Oats and Barley	203,000
Tramp Shipping	4,002,183
Herring Industry	130,157
Light Horse Breeding	49,000
Mechanical Transport	13,360
Civil Aviation	3,627,600

These figures include estimate expenditure in the current year. In the *Manchester Guardian*, on August 24, Mr. J. D. Hamer pointed out, however, that the above list was not complete. He wrote:

There has been considerable press discussion in the last few months over the subsidy or bonus or allowance, call it what you will, given to the manufacturers of industrial alcohol for each gallon of alcohol produced. It is true that this subsidy is said to be a set-off against certain increased expenses owing to the supervision of this industry, but nobody suggests that these expenses are nearly as heavy as the amount received. Under the Derating Act of 1929 sums were set aside to be paid to the railway companies to enable them to reduce their freight charges on certain heavy traffics. This is clearly a direct subsidy. . . .

Apart from these direct subsidies there should also be borne in mind the heavy sums paid not from public funds but by the private user of all oil fuels used in road transport. It is behind this preference that the various industries concerned with the production of oil from coal are alone able to exist, as the Falmouth Committee made clear in their report. This seems, then, also to partake of the nature of a subsidy.

A Brother's Encouragement

IN an article on "The Wild Dog Traffic" in South Australia, the Adelaide correspondent of *The Times* wrote on August 20, that the Australian black, "although still largely a child in the remote fastnesses of the pastoral and cattle country," was "not above a bit of intrigue when encouraged by his educated white brother."

News of Note

A PASTORAL letter, attacking the "war which is being waged against Christianity," was read from Catholic pulpits throughout Germany on Sunday. The letter was a sequel to a conference of Catholic Bishops of North Germany, and added:

Never, from benevolence or from mere patience, will the German Catholic Bishops tolerate any inroad upon their faith, any limitation of the rights of the Church.

Legal measures against the Church—particularly its property—are believed to be contemplated. If these materialize, the Nazis may expect to find themselves ranged against their most powerful enemy so far.

ARAB REBUFF TO ITALY

A rebuff to Italy, and advice not to rely on "words or promises, not matter how sincere," was contained in the Arab newspaper *Zohra*, of Tunis, in an article on "The European Democratic Front and the Mohamedan World" last week.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN INDIA

Wide powers, similar to those used by British Government against civil disobedience movement from 1930 to 1932, have been conferred on Government of Travancore—largest of five Indian States in the Madras Presidency—by the Maharajah. They are directed against Travancore State Congress, which recently announced civil disobedience campaign in protest against orders prohibiting speeches and meetings. (State Congress is unconnected with the Indian National Congress, which organized national civil disobedience movement referred to above.)

STILL MANY BELIEVERS IN RUSSIA?

The 1937 census in the USSR—since cancelled—is stated to have revealed a surprisingly large number of people as professing religious convictions (according to the *Manchester Guardian*) "Wreckers and enemies of the people" have officially been blamed for rendering the figures unreliable, and new census will be held next January.

A.E.U. "NO" TO DILUTION

J. C. Little, president of Amalgamated Engineering Union, declared at Derby, on Sunday, that, in view of increasing unemployment, and "no evidence of any serious attempt to distribute work so as to absorb it," AEU could not say that case had been made out for introduction of dilution.

CHANGES IN U.S. POLITICS

Reporting that intervention of President Roosevelt in primary elections of certain States was still in forefront of American domestic news, Washington correspondent of *The Times* declared last week that such intervention was

part of that transformation of the country from a Federal State into a National State—one which grows more complete with every passing year.

GENEVA AND BOMBING

Question of protection of civilian populations against air bombing has been put on agenda for session of League Assembly commencing September 12, following request from Spanish Government.

NO MORE DETENUS IN BENGAL

Since Wednesday of last week there have been no detenues in Bengal. For about a year the Government has been releasing them, consequent upon decrease in terrorism. In 1937, when present Ministry assumed office, there were 2,700 people under restraint under Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1930, or Regulation 3 of 1918.

WORLD POWER CONFERENCE

Discussion of all forms of energy from standpoint of the consumer was described by one speaker as purpose of International Conference on World Power which opened in Vienna last week, attended by 1,000 delegates. Sir Harold Hartley, leader of the British contingent—the largest—said their goal was "to advance scientific study of energy problems through international co-operation."

CEYLON LABOUR'S DEMANDS

Curtailement of cheap Chinese and Indian labour and constitutional reforms are among demands of Ceylon Labour Parties which have sent a deputation to the Colonial Secretary.

"JAPAN USING GAS"

Further charge that gas is being used by the Japanese is contained in a Chinese commander's report that, except for four men, two Chinese battalions were killed by gas on August 22. Allegation regarding this was communicated last week to all members of League of Nations and to Advisory Committee on Far East.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SIR JOHN SIMON DEFINES BRITISH POLICY

FOLLOWING are points from Sir John Simon's speech at Lanark on Saturday, in which he reaffirmed Mr. Chamberlain's declaration of March 24 with regard to British policy concerning Czechoslovakia:

If all nations alike will do their utmost to remove causes that might lead to war, and will try to meet difficulties in a fair spirit, from whatever quarter they come, war is never inevitable. All the Government's efforts have been directed to the strengthening of the foundations of peace and the adoption of argument and reason in settling international differences.

IF WAR STARTS

True solutions cannot be found by the use of violent measures, which may easily have repercussions involving other parties. The start of a conflict is like the beginning of a fire in a high wind. It may be limited at the start, but who can say how far it would spread?

We shall continue to work for the attainment of the ideal of the League—the substitution of reason and law for force.

I believe that the peoples of all nations hate and dread the awful consequences of modern war. Great is the responsibility of anyone who brought upon humanity the evils that are known to accompany war.

While there are interests and duties to protect and discharge which we would fight, we shall bring the whole weight of our influence to bear to prevent the outbreak of war anywhere, and shall always be ready to make our contribution to the maintenance of peace.

CASE OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The British position with regard to Czechoslovakia was fully declared in Mr. Chamberlain's speech on March 24. That declaration holds good today. There is nothing to add to or vary in its content.

We have recognized in Czechoslovakia a real and urgent problem, and we are convinced that, given good will on all sides, it should be possible to find a solution which is just to all legitimate interests.

In the modern world there is no limit to the reactions of war. The very case of Czechoslovakia may be so critical for the future of Europe that it would be impossible to assume a limit to the disturbance that a conflict might involve.

Lord Runciman is not an arbitrator or a judge—he is a mediator and a friend. All reasonable persons must wish to help rather than to hamper him in his task.

Premier's Previous Declaration

In his declaration in Parliament of March 24, Mr. Chamberlain posed the questions:

Should we forthwith give an assurance to France that, in the event of her being called upon by reason of German aggression on Czechoslovakia to implement her obligations under the Franco-Czechoslovak Treaty, we would immediately employ our full military force on her behalf?

Or, alternatively, should we at once declare our readiness to take military action in resistance to any forcible interference with the independence and integrity of Czechoslovakia, and invite any other nations, which might so desire to associate themselves with us in such a declaration?

After pointing out that in pursuing either of these alternatives the decision as to whether Britain should find itself involved in war would be automatically removed from the Government's discretion, Mr. Chamberlain said the Government consequently felt "unable to give the prior guarantee suggested"; but he added:

Where peace and war are concerned legal obligations are not alone involved, and if war broke out it would be unlikely to be confined to those who have assumed such obligations. It would be quite impossible to say where it would end and what governments might be involved.

In discussing the possibility of other governments' becoming involved, Mr. Chamberlain said:

This is especially true in the case of two countries like Great Britain and France, with long associations of friendship, with interests closely interwoven, devoted to the same ideals of democratic liberty, and determined to uphold them.

Smaller Powers Want Cooperation for Peace

A COMMUNIQUE issued by the foreign ministers of Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, Norway, Holland, and Sweden, after their meeting in Copenhagen on July 23 and 24—referred to in a report from Stavanger on page 5—admitted that the international situation gave cause for serious anxiety. Nevertheless, the foreign ministers continued to believe "that peoples as well as statesmen will do what is necessary to find a peaceful solution."

The communique continued:

The seven countries represented at Copenhagen are, for their part, ready to cooperate actively in all international efforts for reconciliation undertaken in a spirit of open-mindedness and independence in the face of the different power-groups.

Strongly impressed with the dangers which the present armament race creates in the world, the ministers agree to try every opportunity of securing an international agreement designed to stop this armament race. They have therefore resolved to support every initiative for bringing about an agreement to deal with problems raised by aerial bombardments.

ATTITUDE TO LEAGUE

Convinced that their countries ought to continue their participation in the work of the League of Nations, they have ascertained that their governments are determined to continue the line of action indicated in their declaration that they consider the Sanctions system, under present conditions, after the experience of recent years, to have a non-obligatory character.

Further, they are of opinion that this non-obligatory character of Sanctions exists not only for a certain group of countries, but for all the members of the League of Nations. They are convinced that it is in the interests of the League that the right of free decision should be stated in plain terms.

It is from these points of view that they prepare to participate in the discussion of the report which the Committee of Twenty-eight has placed before the Assembly for decision. They would like the League of Nations to strengthen its activity for the prevention of conflicts and for international cooperation.

The ministers agreed to continue in touch with each other to discuss questions of common interest. They intend to have a meeting in connexion with the forthcoming Assembly of the League of Nations.

Hitler's "Thrust Toward the East"

The view expressed by Mr. Stivin, M.P., in the Czechoslovak daily *Právo Lidu*, on July 31, that

... it is not a question of "nationalities" in Czechoslovakia but of the Czechoslovak iron-works, coal and metal basins, grain, sugar, meat; of the Hungarian wheat and corn; of the Rumanian petroleum; of the Ukrainian fertile plains; of an access to the Black Sea; of the German *Drang nach Osten* (thrust toward the East).

was quoted by "A common Citizen of Czechoslovakia" in a letter published in the *Manchester Guardian* last week.

The writer of the letter claimed that Hitler, following his "failure to get hold of us on May 21," had determined to overcome Czech resistance by underground methods—"by internal means, forcing us to rewrite our liberal constitution and reorganize our democratic State."

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PEACE NEWS

September 3, 1938

Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

THE REAL PROBLEM

WHILE this playing with fire—deliberate or not—is still the chief, if not indeed the only, danger to the peace of the world, there remains the difficulty of the Czech problem itself. Ultimately, this is really a problem of opposing Czech and German political alignments, and of the economic issues on which the alignments themselves depend.

That problem is discussed elsewhere in this newspaper. Meanwhile, however, the grievances, real and imaginary, of the Sudeten German minority continue to obscure, and to serve as a manoeuvre in, the real struggle.

Decisive steps—one way or the other—may be expected at any moment (if they have not actually been taken by the time these words are in print). Of the greatest importance (and this was certainly expected yesterday or on Thursday) is the announcement of the Sudeten German attitude to the latest Czech plan—important for the chances both of a negotiated peace internally and of the solution of the international problem (since the Sudeten German attitude must be the Reich's attitude).

THE CZECH PLAN

THOUGH the official version of the new plan is still awaited at the time of writing (but hoped for quite soon), it is known that it envisages a fully representative central government with self-administrative cantons, some of which would be almost wholly German, but all of which would guarantee the welfare of the minorities within their borders—including Jews and even "Left-wingers".

At best, of course, the Sudeten Germans may negotiate on this basis. At worst we may expect either an open declaration of hostility by way of reply, a similar declaration (only to the world) by Herr Hitler at Nuremberg, or an "incident" within Czechoslovakia which will be another Sarajevo.

Between those two there is just the possibility that a qualified refusal may leave the door open to a prolongation of the process of mediation and conciliation. But it is extremely slight, since Germany is practically united in the view (whether by reason of impatience or of intransigence) that the time has now come for a final decision one way or the other.

SPAIN: THE LARGER PROBLEM

NO-ONE will be amused at General Franco's claim that he has won the Spanish "civil" war, least of all the rank and file of his allies who are still suffering heavy losses while trying to force the Republicans back over the River Ebro near Gandesa, which town they nearly succeeded in recapturing.

But if the Generalissimo is a bit too up-to-date with his information as to the progress of the war, and the fact that he has had to send more troops to try and capture Almaden confirms this, he appears to have only out-of-date knowledge of the efforts to end it. Thus, only a week ago, he was still harping on the alleged injustice of the British plan for the withdrawal of foreign participants on the ground that it provided only for those of European nationalities, whereas the Spanish Government had already intimated that it accepted the plan as applying to extra-European nationals as well.

But the fate of the British plan—in any case rendered very uncertain by General Franco's virtual rejection of it—must remain undecided while diplomatic activity is diverted from steps toward summoning the Non-Intervention Committee to events in Czechoslovakia. Half-hearted conversations regarding volunteers have been proceeding in Rome between the British representative and the Italian Government.

The real problem of Spain, however—which is the problem of the Italian and German threat to British and French interests—is not being neglected in as much as it is really the same problem that is at the moment presenting itself more urgently in Czechoslovakia.

Meanwhile, though, the common people, as usual, are the sufferers in what is, despite General Franco's assertion to the contrary, an artificial war.

ARMS AND THE 40-HOUR WEEK

THE suggestion that the French Chamber might be summoned specially at the end of the month to deal with the Government's proposals with regard to the 40-hour working week seemed to indicate that those proposals went further than

was expected. Although an extension of overtime in "national defence" industries has already been decreed by a Council of Ministers, the changes do not require parliamentary approval of a new Bill.

Even the new decree may prove to be unconstitutional, however.

Consequently, there may be new troubles ahead for the Government. For its Left-wing supporters had only been reconciled to the attack on this greatest of the Popular Front's social achievements by the assurance that the spirit of it would not be violated.

On the other hand, the critical international situation is already being exploited in the interests of national unity and the so-called 40 hour week "purists" reminded of the dangers of dissension at such a time. This will become less necessary if war is allowed to draw nearer, but it should make some people of the Left at least realize that support of the way of death leads to support of the consequent worsening of the conditions of life.

HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEM

A STATEMENT by M. de Kenya, the Hungarian Minister for Foreign Affairs, published in the Budapest press on Saturday, emphasized that the renunciation of force as between Hungary and the Little Entente was linked with the third part of the agreement recently initiated at Bled. This dealt with minorities.

The first part, recognizing Hungary's military equality, was, he was careful to point out, unconditional. It was in any case only formal, as her rearmament has not in fact been resisted.

But the significance of the agreement (which, it must be remembered, has so far only been initiated) lies in the implied dependence of the clause relating to the renunciation of force on the effectiveness of that relating to minorities.

While it is hardly to be expected that Czechoslovakia (to whom, of course, this applies particularly) will come to an arrangement about the Hungarian minority either independently or in advance of a general solution of the Czech minority problem, this situation offers dangerous possibilities.

M. de Kenya's statement was made while he was still in Germany, and presumably impressed (together with the Regent) by that country's might. Whether he was "impressed" to the point of coming to some arrangement with Germany which would involve support of a German effort to "solve" the minorities problem by force only time can show. But he would have the best of reasons, with his country economically almost isolated and in search of markets for her wheat, for considering favourably some such promise of support (whether active or passive) in return for economic "aid." That such "aid" would sooner or later mean entering Germany's economic "empire" would have but slight deterrent effect in a case of desperate economic need.

Such a possibility is one of the uncertain and therefore more disturbing factors in a critical situation.

EXAMPLE FOR JAPAN

THE Japanese Foreign Minister is not likely to be moved to pity at the tale of British grievances against his country, presented to him by our Ambassador in Tokyo. He will, of course, listen to them with every respect and no doubt promise to look into them.

But, real though the grievances may be to us (or rather to our enterprising business men), and anxious as he is to improve relations with Britain, the Foreign Minister cannot but reflect upon the history of Japanese attacks on our financial interests in China. He will know better even than we do that what anti-British feeling there is (and it is not to be measured by the very limited expression which it finds in any organized form) is due directly to envy of our commercial and political exploitation of China.

The Japanese see no reason why, if we can invade China in order to enrich ourselves, they shouldn't also; nor why, if we can do so at the expense of the Chinese, they shouldn't at the expense of us; nor yet again, why the monopolizing of China's market, despite a promise to respect the open-door policy, should be considered worse than, say, our forcing of opium on an unwilling China.

For this country—or such of it as upholds this method of getting a living by looking

COUNCILS' SUPPORT FOR AIR DISARMAMENT

Five Follow East Ham's Example

THE example of the East Ham Town Council, which some time ago passed a resolution urging the abolition of military and naval aviation by national agreement, has now been followed by councils of Bermondsey, Bethnal Green, Fulham, Shore-ditch, and Leyton.

The resolution urged the Government, in view of an official statement that "it is the Government's intention to reopen the question of air armaments with other countries,"

to take the initiative along the lines of Article 35a of the British Draft Convention of 1933 and propose to the Powers that they shall immediately devote themselves to the working out of the best possible schemes providing for the complete abolition of naval and military aircraft and the effective supervision of civil aviation to prevent its misuse for military purposes.

This council believes that nothing short of the abolition of the air weapon will afford the peoples of our great cities reasonable security from the air menace, and it calls upon the Government to put forward, for public examination, plans for the control of civil aviation against abuse so that when negotiations are reopened on air disarmament there may be the possibility of an international agreement which will bring a real measure of security to the peoples of the world.

Also that the Association of Municipal Corporations be asked to adopt this resolution, after which it be sent by the association to all its members. If the majority of the local authorities concerned support the resolution, the Association of Municipal Corporations be requested to send a deputation to the Prime Minister urging the calling of an Air Disarmament Conference on the lines suggested in the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously. Commenting on the debate in a leading article, the *Stratford Express* stated:

The members of the East Ham council are to be commended on the spirit they displayed in dealing with the subject. It is a matter of the gravest importance, and quite properly was treated in a non-party spirit.

Open-Air Theatre's Best So Far

TOBIAS & THE ANGEL. Open-Air Theatre, Regent's Park.

Despite occasional colloquialisms, this play of ancient Nineveh rings true to its period and never jars. Full of good commonsense, the dialogue is brilliant and frequently recalls the champagne-like wit of Sheridan's best prose.

Eliot Makeham is very effective as the garrulous Tobit, who suffers even blindness and destitution, not merely with Job-like patience but with a keen sense of humour, genuine humility, and sublime faith in the essential goodness of God, although his sceptical wife, admirably played by Sydney Fairbrother, regards his generosity as the folly of an old man.

Dr. James Bridie can never have regretted his generosity in allowing the Open-Air Theatre to show his superb play free from royalties, for an excellent cast gives a flawless performance.

Robert Eddison, as befits one enacting an archangel, dominates every scene in which he appears, not merely with his fine stature but with a quiet strength of personality. Gifted with a magnificent voice, he speaks his lines with grace, ease, dignity, and beauty.

No less impressive is Romney Brent as Tobit's weak son Tobias, who is gradually taught to assert himself by Raphael, who accompanies him in the guise of a hired servant. The first American to act at the Open-Air Theatre, he brings every ounce of comedy out of his role. Edana Romney as Sara, whom Tobias saves from the demon Asmodeus (Hugh Thurston), Stephen Murray as her father Raguel, and Clement Hamelin as a bandit, all act well. Enjoyment is enhanced by some attractive singing and dancing by Sara's attendants.

This is easily the best production in the Open-Air Theatre this season.

PATRICK RICHARDS

White Poppies Again This Year TO HELP PACIFISTS ABROAD

ORDERS for white poppies for Armistice Day may now be sent to Sydney Conbeer, 113 Summerfield Crescent, Birmingham, 16. Many people were disappointed last year through sending their orders too late, so order at once.

Through the sale of white poppies last year the Birmingham branch of the No More War Movement alone handed over £14 13s. 6d. to the War Resisters' International.

The WRI devoted the money to helping those who were suffering in conscript countries for their resistance to the policies of war.

All money beyond the bare cost of the poppies was regarded as a donation to the WRI. They were purchased from the Women's Cooperative Guild, which made no profit at all from them, selling at a price which just covered cost, postage, &c.

"POPPY CLERK" FINDS JOB

Ronald Darvell, one of the City of London clerks who lost his job through wearing a white poppy last Armistice Day, has at last obtained permanent employment.

PREPARATION FOR PEACE

The work for peace during this coming Autumn and winter will necessarily be of so critical a nature that some of us feel it would be right to set aside a special line of moral and spiritual preparation," writes C. Paul Gliddon in announcing that Father Andrew will conduct a Quiet Afternoon at the King's Weigh House Church on September 10, at 3.15 p.m.

It is hoped that those who base their pacifism on Christian grounds will attend even though their religious outlook is very different from that of the conductor.

In order that proper arrangements may be made about tea, those intending to be present should notify the Rev. J. Alcock Rush by sending a card to the King's Weigh House Church, Duke Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1. The church is two minutes from Selfridges or from Bond Street tube station.

(Continued from Col. 2)

after one's own interests at the expense, if need be, of others—to pose now, as not only the injured party but as too honest to come to an arrangement that will further exploit China is rank hypocrisy. If Japan has not been too eager to take the lead in a more honest and wider application of the method of co-operation it is more than understandable, in view of the success which she sees our methods have brought us.

It is therefore up to us to take such a lead, and if necessary (as it probably is) give some real signs of good faith by, for example, encouraging at least some relaxation of immigration restrictions in Australia.

That lead is urgent for, despite Japan's rapid advance on Hankow, an end of the conflict may still be far off, especially as the Japanese say they will not resume dealings with General Chiang Kai-Shek's Government as such.

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